

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT?

The San People's Involvement in Community-Based Tourism



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**Master of Social Anthropology
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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBNRM	Community Baser Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CDF	Community Development Facilitator
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
GoB	Government of Botswana
IWIGA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JV	Joint Venture
KDT	Kuru Development Trust (today's KFO)
KFO	Kuru Family of Organisations ('Kuru')
NG	NG is a governmental term for designation of areas, and refers to land within Ngamiland District (e.g. NG10, NG13).
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NUFU	Norwegian programme for Development Research and Education
OWS	Okavango Wilderness Safaris
SASI	South African San Institute
TOCaDI	Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives
UB	University of Botswana
UB/Tromsø	The University of Botswana and the University of Tromsø (UT) Collaborative Programme for San Research and Capacity Building (NUFU pro 46/02)
VTC	Village Trust Committee
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WGIP	The UN Working Groups on Indigenous Populations
WUSC	World University Service of Canada

A NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The spelling of names used in this thesis is according to the Khwe orthography developed by researchers from the University of Cologne and accepted by the Khwe communities of South Africa, Botswana and Namibia in 2001. This orthography has four basic clicks that are represented as:

- 1) “ʔ” This click (dental) sounds like "tsk, tsk!" and is made by putting the tongue just behind the front teeth.
- 2) “ǀ” The second click (alveolar) is a soft "pop" made by putting the tongue just behind the ridge back of the front teeth.
- 3) “ǃ” The third click (alveo-palatal) is a sharp "pop" made by drawing the tongue down quickly from the roof of the mouth.
- 4) “ǁ” The fourth click (lateral) is a clucking sound like that made in English to urge on a horse.

Each of these clicks may be combined with consonants to vary their sound – e.g. ‘h’ aspirates the click, ‘g’, voices the click and ‘n’ nasalizes the click. However, San names and words may be pronounced by simply dropping the click, and instead start on the first Latin letter after the click. For example, for //Anikhwe read Anikhwe (Kalahari Peoples Fund 2007).

1. INTRODUCTION: Indigenous People, Tourism, Development – a Botswana Context

*Indigenous people*¹ and their culture and traditions are under severe threat of destruction in today's modern world. Not only are they rooted in landscapes undergoing radical changes, but they, like the rest of us, are also forced to adjust to the growing and opposing forces of global systems and modern structures. Yet, experiences from the Maori, Inuit, Sámi, Aboriginal Australians and American Indians show that indigenous cultures and traditions are far from disappearing (Sissons 2005). On the contrary, they are in many cases as lively as ever; engaged in flourishing and continuous projects of cultural preservation, innovation and transformation, where elements from the 'modern', 'developed' and 'global' are incorporated without necessarily compromising their indigenous heritage and future as *a People*.

I will in this thesis focus on a particular type of meeting between 'the modern world' and 'indigenous people', and furthermore examine how this may affect indigenous people's development process. By presenting and selling indigenous culture to a global market, *tourism* and its industry is seen as an expression of this relationship. A prevailing assumption has been that tourism, as a modern institution, will change and perhaps even destroy indigenous cultures in an effort to turn them into profitable commodities for tourist consumption. However, considering that indigenous people to a growing extent participate in tourism – not only as 'cultural objects' but also as 'modernising tourism producers' in their own right (Garland & Gordon 1999) – I want to question this assumption. Instead of disregarding the potential development opportunities provided by tourism a-priori, I will approach the issue on an empirical and theoretical level and explore *if and how tourism can become a means by which indigenous people can take part in a sustainable socio-cultural and economic development*. This implies looking at opportunities, challenges and constraints with tourism in relation to indigenous people's development struggles.

I will also address other more general theoretical questions: What do the concepts of 'development' and 'authenticity' imply – both theoretically and empirically; who has the power to define their symbolic/ideological meaning and how may this create and sustain asymmetrical power relations? And in what way do processes of cultural commercialisation for tourism purposes – e.g. cultural essentialisation, reification, transformation and adaptation – affect indigenous development?

¹ Other related terms for Indigenous Peoples include 'First Peoples', 'Fourth World', 'Aborigines', 'Native Peoples' and 'First Nation'.

The *San people* of Southern Africa – also referred to as ‘Khoe’ (‘Khwe’), ‘Basarwa’ or ‘Bushmen’² – are among the world’s historically most marginalised and disempowered indigenous people, but perhaps also some of the most famous cultural Others in the world. Saugestad (2004:6) states that “few people [as the San] have to such a degree been the subject of western contempt (on initial contacts), and curiosity (subsequently) and fascination of the past that is now highly commercialised”. The San of Botswana do in my view represent an interesting and much important empirical ground from where to address the subject matter. From March to July 2006, I conducted fieldwork in Botswana to learn more about the involvement of rural San communities in the Botswana tourism sector, more specifically, *community-based tourism*. I have tried to grasp the complexity of my subject by approaching various sites, actors and institutions at macro, middle and micro level. My main case study has been the *Teemacane Community Development Trust*³ and their *Cultural Hiking Trail* venture. The Cultural Hiking Trail is a community tourism project initiated and established by the *Khwe San* community of the Okavango Panhandle, in north-western Botswana. Teemacane was established with support from ‘the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative’ – *TOCaDI* – which is a local self-help development organisation (a NGO) affiliated with *Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO)*. TOCaDI has been my base of study, work and relaxation during my time in Botswana.

In regards to the San people’s situation in contemporary Botswana, one of the biggest obstacles for their survival as a distinct ethnic group is that the Government of Botswana (*GoB*) will not officially recognise their indigenous status. This course of action is in line with the country’s *non-racial, non-tribal*, policy which grew out of a history of nation-building and Apartheid South Africa as the neighbouring state (Saugestad 2001). Within this socio-political context the indigenous San have conceptually become the antithesis to Botswana’s national development – i.e. they are ‘people of the bush’ lacking every (desired) sign of (economic) development. Left as an indigenous group within the nation state that was created (*ibid.*), the San do in many ways represent the prototype of a ‘*marginalised minority*’: They lack both the social, cultural, economic and symbolic power or capital to challenge the hegemonic world definition of the more powerful Others – i.e. the Botswana state, the Tswana majority and the tourism industry. But with their tradition as hunters and gatherers, the ability to adapt to changing environments is perhaps the most general quality of their culture (*ibid.*). The San and their support organisations are today working directly and indirectly on a variety of

² I will in this thesis refer to the indigenous peoples of Botswana as the ‘San people’ or the ‘San’ (see 1.2.1 below)

³ Hereafter referred to as ‘Teemacane Trust’ or just ‘Teemacane’

'counterhegemonic' endeavours and survival strategies including global indigenous cooperation, arts and crafts development, nature conservation efforts and San owned tourism ventures. This may enable the San to develop and preserve their indigenous heritage within the modern world.

I hope that this thesis can contribute to a better understanding of the systemic processes and the concrete social relations which create and sustain, but also those which help reduce, socio-economic poverty and marginalisation of indigenous peoples, like the San, in modern day's relations and encounters.

1.1 Contextualising the Research Field

Although it will not be the focal point of this thesis, Botswana's national history and contemporary socio-political situation is an important explanatory context from where the relationship between indigenous peoples, tourism and development should be understood.

1.1.1 Introduction to Botswana and the local study area⁴

The Republic of Botswana is a landlocked nation situated in the central part of the southern African Region. It is bordered by South Africa to the south, Namibia to the west, Zambia to the north and Zimbabwe to the northeast (see map 1 and 2, Appendix I). The Kalahari Desert covers around 70 percent of the country's 581,370 km² land area. The climate is classified as semi-arid, with periods of drought, poor soil and little permanent surface water (The World Fact Book 2006). Formerly the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, Botswana adopted its new name after becoming independent on September 30, 1966. Since then, it has had a stable political environment⁵, practiced democracy and (at least on paper) been committed to social justice and equality. Botswana's population is about 1.7 million (2005 est.), but due to the high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate – Botswana has the second highest infection rate in the world, 37.3 percent of the adult population, (2003 est. Globalis 2006) – the population number is declining.⁶

Out of four months of fieldwork, three months were spent in north-western Botswana Ngamiland District (see Appendix I, map 3.). The most striking geographical feature of Ngamiland and maybe of the whole country, is the Okavango Delta; a wilderness and wetland

⁴ For an extensive, more detailed description of the geography, natural resources, livelihood, history and people of the Okavango Delta and Panhandle area, see Tlou 1985; Bock & Johnson 2006; Sørensen 2003; Sammy 2001; M. Taylor 2000.

⁵ The *Botswana Demotic Party* (BDP) has been in power since independence. While BDP perceive this as a testimony to their competence, critics have pointed out that development politics that follows logics of 'stability before participation' and 'growth before redistribution', do not stimulate equality and democracy, but an 'elite democracy' (Haram 2005:6f).

⁶ At the same time Botswana is said to have one of Africa's most progressive and comprehensive programs for dealing with the disease.

area that brings life to an otherwise arid and infertile region. At 16,000 km², the Okavango is recognised as one of the world's largest inland delta (Root 2006). The northern part of the Delta is called 'the Panhandle' or Okavango River, streaming from the highlands of Angola, through Namibia before it reaches Botswana. Besides being the district's main source of water, the scenic beauty and rich wildlife of the Okavango Delta has also made it a base for a thriving tourism industry, which is the largest employer in Ngamiland today (M. Taylor 2000).

Botswana has not always been a country attractive to, and capable of providing for, tourists. At independence in 1966, it was amongst the poorest and least developed countries in the world. Since then it has managed to transform itself into one of the world's fastest growing economies and is today classified by IMF and UN⁷, as a middle-income country, with a per capita income (GDP) of \$11,410 (2005 est.). Haram (2005:6) states that Botswana's accomplishment in development is a source of *national pride*, which by outsiders as well as Batswana (i.e. citizen of Botswana), are considered an exceptional case in an African context. The success is explained by fiscal discipline, sound management and political stability (cf. 'Good Governance'), coupled with diamond revenues. The economy is also depending on cattle rising and beef export to EU, subsistence farming and not last, tourism, which is identified as the key sector for future growth and diversification of the mining-dominated economy – i.e. 'the economic driver for the 21st century' (GoB 2002:2).

On the downside, GoB has to deal with high rates of unemployment – 23 percent, but unofficial estimates place it closer to 40 percent. And with 30, 3 percent of the population living under the Poverty Datum Line (PDL),⁸ a great number of people have not experienced much development. This is especially the case in rural areas in the north where cash earning and employment opportunities are scarce. The increasing differentiation between the rural poor and the rich urban areas is threatening to reduce future development in Botswana. Poorest amongst the rural poor are the San, who due to loss of land and traditional livelihoods, exploitation and discrimination, have been left on the lowest rank of Botswana's socio-economic system (IWGIA 2006). As an attempt to address rural poverty, GoB has endorsed tourism as an opportunity for people residing in rural areas with natural and cultural resources valued in the tourism industry.

⁷ Botswana is ranked as 131st (medium) on UN's Human Development Index (HDI 2005). HDI is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standard of living, used to determine a country's development status.

⁸ The PDL figure (>1 US\$ a day) is equivalent to the minimum income needed for a basic standard of living.

1.1.2 Botswana tourism

In Botswana, the tourism sector was almost non-existent at independence. By 2002 the sector had grown to become the third largest in the country, contributing 4.5 percent to the GDP and comprising over 4.5 percent of the total formal employment (1997 est. GoB 2000). The Botswana tourism industry, concentrated in the Okavango region, offers a variety of striking landscapes, natural scenery and some of the largest populations of wildlife species found in all of Africa. This can be experienced through photographic safaris and hunting tourism. Rapid tourism growth in destinations like Okavango has however required GoB to institute policies and programmes to manage, protect and conserve the fragile natural resources upon which tourism relies. For instance, the Botswana tourism sector operates under the deliberate policy of 'low volume – high value' contained in the Tourism Policy, Governmental Paper No. 2 of 1990 (see Appendix II). In simple terms this means having few high paying visitors to generate high profit with less impact on the environment. This is presumably accomplished through policy restrictions on the maximum number of tourists allowed in a given area, and predefined economic revenues (GoB 1990:6, section 5.1.1). For instance is the entry fee for non-residents to protected areas like national parks and game reserves relatively high (P150 per person per day). The maximum numbers of beds in any given lodge in game reserves and national parks is only 24 (SNV 2001). In sum, the idea is that exclusive, low density tourism will boost the economy – scarcity increases the value of the product – without jeopardising the fragile wildlife and natural resources like 'mass tourism' is feared to do. GoB has also recognised the need to increase the participation by Botswana in tourism. This is perceived as a way to spread the socio-economic benefits more equitably both geographically and socially (GoB 2001; 2002). The concept of 'Community-Based Tourism' (CBT) which is slowly gaining ground in Botswana, may offer such prospects. According to GoB Official Tourism website (2006):

Community-Based Tourism is tourism initiative that is owned by one or more defined communities, or run as joint venture partnerships with the private sector, with equitable community participation, as a means of using the natural resources in a sustainable manner to improve their standard of living in an economically viable way.

It started with the implementation of a *Community Based Natural Resource Management programme* (CBNRM) in early 1990s, where wildlife and natural resources were made available for rural communities to manage. As the CBNRM gained momentum and more stakeholders participated, community-based tourism was filtered out as an independent development strategy to promoting local control over tourism based development.

1.1.3 CBNRM – decentralisation of resource management and development

CBNRM is a worldwide programme first introduced in Zimbabwe in 1986, through the Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). The driving force behind the programme was over-utilisation of natural resources and threat of species extinction, land conflicts and a need to reform conventional top-down approaches to development and conservation (ERP 2006). In Botswana, the programme was effectively started in 1989 with funds from USAID. Presently, about 50 Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) all over Botswana are involved in CBNRM. These projects range from thatching grass, herbal tea collection and marketing, to handicraft production, campsite management, nature-based safaris and trophy hunting joint ventures. However, the most economically viable CBNRM projects are presumed to be wildlife-based tourism.

The supporting *ideology* of CBNRM is founded on the premises that local communities⁹ must be directly involved in the management of, and thus benefit from, the surrounding natural resources in order to encourage and achieve sustainable resource conservation outside protected areas (i.e. National Parks and Game Reserves). Decentralising the resource management is furthermore assumed to strengthen rural economies and empower local communities as they bring their knowledge and initiatives to the decision-making process (e.g. Haram 2005; Mbaiwa 2005a; M. Taylor 2000). In sum, by increasing local participation in, and responsibility for, the management and use of local natural resources, sustainable social, economical and ecological development is presumed to occur. Hence, the objective of the CBNRM programme is twofold; to promote natural resource conservation *and* sustainable rural development.

In *practice* the CBNRM programme does not allocate land ownership, but give communities certain rights to *lease* a larger land area for a longer period of time. The Government has set conditions under which communities can participate in CBNRM: First they must form a legal entity; a Community Based Organisation (CBO) such as a *Community Trust*, which will function as an intermediary between GoB, NGOs and the community. This requires a completion and registration of a Trust Constitution, forming a Village Trust Committee (VTC) of which the chairperson and the secretary are members of the Board of Trustees. The Trust also needs to prepare a land use and management plan that explains how they intend to utilise the area and its natural resources. Only on this basis can the Trust apply

⁹ A 'community' could be a single village, or a number of villages, depending on the geographical location and availability of land resources. It should however not be perceived as the traditional bands based on exchange network and kinship, but instead as administrative constructs (settlement units) cutting across kinship and language groups.

to its respective Land Board¹⁰ for user rights and leases. Land eligible for CBNRM is called ‘Controlled Hunting Areas’ (CHAs), which are administrative units that the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) use to set and distribute annual wildlife quotas. It is up to the Community Trust to decide whether to manage the land and wildlife quota themselves, or *sub-lease* it to a private actor. It is somewhat unclear to what extent communities are allowed to use the land resources (just) for subsistence activities, or if they are required to make a business of the land. Even so, the model followed in most cases is one of *Joint Ventures* (JV)¹¹ where the community join a tourism operator that has the investment, management and marketing prospective to run a business. The possible benefits for the community can be anything from cash and employment to infrastructure and skills. The JV-model is adopted and encouraged by the Government. Take for instance the Tourism Policy paper of 1990: “[...] it should simply be noted that the Government will encourage joint venture arrangements designed to provide citizens with *increased participation* in the tourism sector” (section 4.2.2, my emphasis). On paper this sounds good; in reality a joint venture does not necessary imply joint action by symmetrical partners. Rather, in most cases it simply refers to the management of a sub-lease agreement where a private operator pays the local community for using its territories and wildlife quota (Gujadhur 2001; Mbaiwa 2004). Fronting a rather *economic* CBNRM model, GoB is – together with the tourism industry – in many ways de-emphasising resource use which is not geared towards profit-making. The empirical question is to what extent this way of implementing CBNRM can create sustainable development for local San communities. And moreover, given the imbalance in capacity between the partners involved – the community often becomes the passive resource supplier, while the tour operator runs the business – how can the Joint Venture model match the ideology of CBNRM? These are controversial issues in the ongoing debate concerning the problems and prospects of CBNRM in Botswana (e.g. Mbaiwa 2005; M. Taylor 2000). They also form an important part of the context from where my empirical data will be discussed and analysed, especially since CBNRM is perceived by GoB, but also by TOCaDI and KFO, to form a sustainable basis for (San) community development and empowerment.

¹⁰ The Land Board is a governmental body which principle role is to allocate land and resource use rights, and assist CBOs trying to obtain resource leases (ERP 2006).

¹¹ ‘Joint Venture’ is in Wikipedia explained as a legal entity formed between two or more parties to undertake economic activity together. The parties agree to create a new entity by equally contributing and sharing the revenues, expenses and control of the enterprise.

1.2 The San People

We were mobile in the past and were hunters and gatherers. The Khwe [San] lived a mobile life in the past and they were generous to each other and lived peacefully (...). The past life of the Khwe was a great one. (Maruta Diyonga from Kaputura, Teemacane Trust 2002:1)

The San people were together with the Khoe-Khoe,¹² the first to inhabit the southern African region, thus being one of the world's oldest indigenous populations with a history dating back over 20.000 years. Of an estimated number of 85-90.000 San, the majority of 48-50.000 people live within Botswana, and account for 3 percent of the population. A similar number is spread throughout Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and South Africa.

Who are the San? First, the San is a collective name for the several Khoesan-speaking groups. The Khoesan language family, characterised by its clicking sounds, encompasses about fifteen languages and/or dialects¹³ each with their own name: Ju/'hoan, !Kung, Naro, //Anikhwe, Buga (Bugakhwe), Shua, etc. (KDT & WIMSA 1999). Second, the San refers to a group of people who traditionally lived by *hunting and gathering* (foraging) in and around the Kalahari Desert region. As such, they moved about the landscape, grouped and dispersed according to season, resource availability and distribution of other groups. They usually stayed in small bands of 5-6 families – 25-50 persons altogether – tied to other groups through kinship, marriage, friendship and trade/exchange. Traditionally, decision making was by *consensus* and the society was *egalitarian*. Since the San once occupied the entire South African region, they possess the traditional rights over it. This is far from the contemporary situation (Hitchcock & Biesele 2004). During the last century, pressure on land from farmers, mining companies, conservationists, and now perhaps also the tourism industry, has cut the San off from their ancestral lands. Although the majority still reside on their traditional land, they have lost all power over it as the new residents have been more successful in obtaining *legally recognised ownership*, a concept unknown in San culture. Hence, “the visitors have turned into occupants” (Dekker & le Roux 1999:43).

Today, the San live in small settlements, earning a living by combining foraging, livestock breeding, agriculture, wage labour and small-scale, informal businesses. Without an extensive group organisation, mother tongue based educational services and knowledge about their rights and options, the San have been left in an extremely vulnerable position. Most of them live at or below the PDL, and they also exhibit some of the highest rates of illiteracy and

¹² The Dutch settlers called them 'Hottentots', to mimic their strange (to the Dutch) click-filled language (Lee 2003). Giving derogatory connotations, this is considered a politically *incorrect* designation. The San are to be distinguished from the Khoe-Khoe, whom they resembled physically, but who have a tradition of keeping livestock, but also from the *Bantu groups* (e.g. the Tswana, Hambukushu, Wayei) by marked linguistic, cultural and physical differences (ibid.).

¹³ Separating languages from dialects is however not easy, especially since it so far, within some San groups, has been done little research on linguistic varieties. For further information see Batibo & Tsonope (2000).

mortality in the country. Alcoholism, malnutrition and HIV/AIDS are other growing problems (IWGIA 2006). Since hunting became highly restricted,¹⁴ a significant percentage of San have become dependent on food-rations and income from government sponsored programmes to survive (cf. the RADP programme). In addition to material poverty the San are also faced with a racial and ethnic *stigma*¹⁵ within the Botswana society: They belong to a primitive past, in contrast to the modern and developed majority, and to the margins of society, in contrast to the rapidly growing centre. The stereotypic San image is often depicted through racial characteristics such as yellow skin, short built and large buttocks. Take together, the San people's situation in Botswana is perhaps best described by their position as a 'marginalised minority', which brings focus to the extreme poverty, social problems and the involuntary socio-cultural and political exclusion which together has placed them at the border of public conscience and at the very bottom of the social ladder (Haram 2005).

1.2.1 A note on terminology – 'a people known by many names'

In addressing the complexity of San terminology, one needs to recognise that this has not only to do with words. It is also a question of identity, respect and recognition. M. Taylor (2000:11) states that the difficulty in finding an appropriate name for the San reflects both the tendency for outsiders to categorise and label them, as well as the contradictions inherent in giving a single label to such a varied category of people. 'San', 'Bushman', 'Khwe' and 'Basarwa' are all terms used. The San are, as they themselves note with some resentment, 'a people known by many names' (Saugestad 2001:28).

By which name should the Basarwa be known? Nobody has asked us what our name is and how we should be called. All other tribes know who they are, and have a name by which they are known. (Komtsha Komtsha, *ibid.*:175)

So far no general term of self-reference is shared by all San groups, which has become a challenge for emerging San organisations that need to communicate a sense of unity outside, while at the same time recognising and including the internal diversity.¹⁶

In Botswana the official term is '*Basarwa*' (singular: '*Mosarwa*'), a Setswana word used by their neighbours and the Government (and sometimes even by themselves) to refer to 'a person who do not rear cattle'. In Botswana (or the predominantly pastoralist Tswana

¹⁴ In 1979 a 'Special Game Licence' was introduced to legitimise subsistence hunting for poor rurals, thus contribute to some measure of food security (Saugestad 2001). Today they licence is no longer excising, making subsistence hunting illegal.

¹⁵ "When negative stereotypes (ascribed by others) converge with a group's extreme lack of power and control, one may say that a *stigma* is attached to the group" (Saugestad 2001:59).

¹⁶ Science is faced with the same challenges: certain situations calls for synthesising descriptions of the total San populations, while in others one needs to draw attention to the socio-cultural and linguistic variety.

society) a person without cattle is a primitive person, owing and being nothing. The term is therefore by many San considered derogatory. ‘*Bushmen*’ is also a widely used and popular term, especially in tourism relations. It originates from the word ‘Bosjesman’, which the Dutch settlers in South Africa used on the hunter-gatherers of the interior. As for the term ‘*San*’ (‘Sonqua’), it was historically given by the Khoe-Khoe and means ‘those who (just) gather wild food’ or ‘aborigine’ (KFO & WIMSA 1999). Western anthropologist adopted the word extensively in 1970, and it has remained the preferred terminology in academia. It is also the official term in Namibia and South Africa. For most San, the respective local group and/or speech community – ‘Bugakhwe’, ‘Naro’ – are the primary points of identity reference. In late 1996 representatives of various San groups met in Namibia and decided to use the term ‘San’ as a general overall designation (Hitchcock & Biesele 2004). Although it will take time to grow roots in the San communities, it is an important empowering step to symbolise that an ethno-political process is underway.

While recognising the difficulties associated with all these terms, I will in this thesis use ‘San’ or ‘the San people’. The reason being that ‘San’ was the term applied by most of my informants. I also experience it to be a more politically neutral, compared to ‘Basarwa’. When writing within a regional perspective, I will use the local group names – ‘the //Anikhwe or the Khwe San. I will also use ‘Bushmen’ when discussing tourism related issues.

1.2.2 The San of the local study area

The San reside in different areas all over Botswana. I have mainly been working with the *Khwe San* residing in the northern Panhandle. It is estimated that roughly 8.3 percent of Ngamiland population are San (Mbaiwa 2005a). But as M. Taylor (2000) points out, it is unlikely that the different San communities in the region regarded themselves as the same people in prehistoric times. A sense of affinity probably arose later through common experiences of domination by immigrating agro-pastoralists.

The San of the Panhandle consist of two distinct San groups with only small linguistic differences¹⁷ however, divided along ecological adaptation: the //Anikhwe (//Ani – river, *khwe* – person), or ‘River Bushmen’, who lived along the river channels, and those who lived in the sandveld, the *Bugakhwe* (*Boga* – dry country, *khwe* – person) or ‘Sand Bushmen’.¹⁸ The San, or the Khwe, have lived in the Tsodilo region as far back as archaeological records goes. But throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century Bantu speaking groups like the

¹⁷ They belong to the same language family: ‘Khwedam’ – Central Khoesan, but speak slightly different dialects.

¹⁸ The European Union assessment of the San living in Ngamiland reported 4100 Bugakhwe and 1300 //Anikhwe. This makes the //Anikhwe to be defined as one of the most vulnerable of all San groups (Sammy 2004:5).

Hambukushu and the Wayei – which also are to be recognised as ethnic minorities within Botswana – migrated separately from central Africa (Bock & Johnson 2006). Through economic and cultural exchange, these agro-pastoralists have achieved a central position in the Ngamiland region, thus forcing the Khwe to gradually assimilate. Recognising the importance in the historical relationship between the San and their Hambukushu and Wayei neighbours, when trying to understand the San people's situation today, it is perhaps more important to focus on the asymmetrical power relations to the Tswana majority and how it was produced, and is sustained, through the socio-political and historical context of the Botswana nation state.

1.2.3 The indigenous San and the Botswana nation state

The Government of Botswana has taken the position that *all* residents of the country are to be considered as indigenous, thus rejecting every group designations which refers to 'Indigenous' or 'First Peoples'. Neither does GoB accept any special treatment on ethnic ground. In official discourses, expressions or specifications of ethnic status is directly linked to *tribalism*, and therefore avoided as far as possible (Haram 2005). This manner of approach is in line with the Botswana non-racial/non-tribal Constitution,¹⁹ which according to Saugestad (2001) should be understood as a product of the country's *nation-building* process: Since the British Protectorate had only been an administrative unit of individual Tribal Territories, there was not much sense of a Bechuanaland nationhood at independence in 1966 (Haram 2005). Like other new nations, the challenge for Botswana was therefore to *construct* an image of a unified, cultural homogenous state, all while under-communicating the tribal or ethnic diversity found in the country (cf. Anderson 1991). By adopting a tribe-neutral policy where the culture and language of the (numerical) dominant *Tswana/Bantu* tribe was elevated to the status as the national 'neutral' standard, the image of the united Botswana nation was born. Presented as non-ethnic and non-racial, Botswana is rather *mono-ethnic* by promoting the Tswana language (Setswana), culture and political system as the official standards for the whole Botswana Nation (Saugestad 2001). In addition to nation building, Saugestad points out how the tribally neutral platform also should be understood as an effort by the Botswana state to demonstrate a clear moral contrast to the neighbouring apartheid regime in South Africa (ibid.).

Given this contextual framework, any description of references to the San as an indigenous people becomes highly controversial, because the most commonly used criteria for

¹⁹ The constitution adopted at independence rejected all forms of discrimination and racism, stressing equality and equal opportunity 'whatever race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex' (Saugestad 2001:68).

indigenesness (cf. 4.1.2), emphasise exactly what the Government finds to be in conflict with their national non-ethnic agenda. Thus, there is logically *no official recognition* of the San people's indigenous status. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) controversy between groups from the San minority and the Government does in many ways go to the heart of the minority/indigenous rights discussion in Botswana. Since the mid-1990s the Government has been trying to move the San out of the CKGR, even though the constitution guarantees the San the right to live there; the Game Reserve was established by the British in 1961 to protect the San. In 1997, a sizable part of the residence was relocated to governmental settlements outside the Reserve. From the Government's perspective, the relocation was necessary for the San to access social services and become 'developed, integrated citizen'.²⁰ For the San on the other hand, this is a conflict over the right to stay on their ancestral land and preserve their culture and tradition (Haram 2005). In 2002, the San and their spokespersons in the 'Negotiation Team'²¹ filed a lawsuit against GoB, contesting the relocation. The case was brought to the High Court 4 July, 2004. Finally, on 13 December 2006, the longest and most expensive court case in Botswana history came to a close. The three judges ruled two-to-one that the eviction was 'unlawful and unconstitutional'. The San won a historic ruling, and were allowed to return to their lands. The court did however not oblige GoB to provide the returning residences with any civil services. But the symbolism of the victory does at least communicate to GoB *and* the various San communities, that there is *a San People*.

My underlying assumption and argument throughout this thesis will be that the Botswana socio-political context provides the underlying causes for and explanation of the San people's marginal position. As such it also becomes the framework in which their (asymmetrical) relationship with other actors – like private joint venture partners, travel agents, or the tourists – should be explained and understood.

1.2.4 Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO)

Kuru Family of Organisations (KFO), or just 'Kuru', began as grassroots effort to assist the Naro San living in D'kar, a freeholder farm in Ghanzi District. Initially, they were involved with the Dutch Reformed Church, but in 1986, 'Kuru Development Trust' (KDT) was officially registered as a non-profitable CBO with the Botswana Government. The objective

²⁰ Some rights groups, for instance 'Survival International' (www.survival-international.org), claim that the Government's intent with the relocation is to clear the area for diamond mining and lucrative tourism trade.

²¹ *The Negotiation Team* established in 1997/98, is a coalition of San NGOs – e.g. FPK, KFO and WIMSA – and representatives from the settlements inside CKGR. This consultative group has carried out discussions with GoB, and sought to establish a coordinated strategy concerning land and resource rights of San people (Haram 2005).

of the organisation is to empower the most vulnerable group of indigenous peoples in southern Africa, namely the San, to gain control over their own destiny through a holistic process approach to development (KFO 2005:3). Throughout the 1990s it became clear that it was also a need for Kuru's services in San communities outside D'kar. Since then, it has grown to become *Kuru Family of Organisations*, an association of eight NGOs owned and governed by the San of Botswana and South Africa. The eight associates are Letloa Trust, Bokamoso Trust, D'kar Trust, Gantsi Craft, Komku Trust, San Arts & Crafts, *TOCaDI* and South African San institute (SASI) (see Appendix II for further details and geographic location). SASI, which joined KFO in 2004, helps forming a regional network with the San support groups in South Africa. The transformation of KFO into a regional organisation has expanded and strengthened the partnerships with governmental and non-governmental actors. A case at hand is the central role of the organisation in the establishment of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in South Africa (WIMSA), which is a regional lobbying and advocacy organisation for the San. KFO's involvement in the CKGR 'Negation Team' is another example.

1.3 Contents by Chapter

In chapter *two* I will look into the process of preparing for and doing fieldwork, and furthermore, discuss my research methods, data sources and fieldwork experiences. Chapter *three* presents the theoretical ground on which my analysis is based. I will introduce some theoretical perspectives and analytical concepts which I perceive as useful to examine and discuss the relationship between indigenous development and tourism. I furthermore discuss the negative assumption of tourism in relation with local indigenous cultures. In chapter *four* I will give an empirical presentation of *TOCaDI*, the organisation with which I have been affiliated, followed by a more comprehensive description of my main case study; Teemacane Trust and the Cultural Hiking Trail. This provides the empirical base for the analysis in chapter *five*, where I first will try to recognise and discuss the development opportunities provided by tourism, while secondly address the challenges and constraints in local community processes imported by external conditions. I will continue this discussion in chapter *six* by approaching it on a more theoretical level. Here different senses of authenticity in tourist experiences, processes of cultural commercialisation and appropriation will be discussed to show how asymmetrical power relations may be produced, reproduced, but also opposed through San owned tourism production. I end this chapter by returning to the

Botswana context within which the San people's development efforts must be explained and understood. In the final chapter I summarise and conclude my arguments and analysis.

2. METHODOLOGY

Fieldwork is a process as well as a series of chaotic encounters, and while there may be many revelatory fieldwork experiences, those revelations often come to us slowly and methodologically. (Shore 1999:26)

In this master project I have used qualitative methods, which involves an effort to get an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reason governing behaviour. In other words, it investigates the *why* and *how* of behaviour, as compared to *what*, *where*, and *when* of quantitative methods. Within such framework it is mostly up to the researcher to try and *interpret* the behaviour of the people studied. The picture painted is therefore a representation of the researchers own impression – an approximation, rather than a photograph of ‘reality’. This aspect of qualitative research brings in the question of how to manage ‘*subjectivity*’ in such a way that scientific rigour is preserved. Researcher *self-reflexivity* – explained as ‘showing one’s working’ to the reader by writing open and reflexive accounts of ‘what really happened during fieldwork’; how it was done; position/role in the field; subjective motivation, (pre)conception, feelings and experiences – is perceived as the best way to manage subjectivity (Holliday 2002; Shore 1999). Depicting oneself in the ethnographic text and being explicit about the research process is therefore an important part of ‘doing and writing qualitative research’.

2.1 Choice of Research Focus and Locus

A problem most researchers face when preparing for fieldwork is not knowing precisely what to prepare for. (Devereux and Hoddinott 1993:9)

The choice of topic for this thesis stemmed from an interest in indigenous issues which I got studying for Bachelor in Social Anthropology at the University of Tromsø (UiTø), which has a research profile that seeks to promote research related to Sámi indigenous issues.²² Finalising my bachelor with a one-year study of ‘Development Issues’ at Agder University College, my attention was brought to tourism as a strategy for Third World development. However, knowing that indigenous populations often range amongst the lowest on the social-economic ladder also made me question why so little development research address the issue of indigenous development directly. Back at UiTø I therefore decided to base my Master on an empirical study of the interaction between these three concepts – Indigenous People, Tourism and Development.

Initially, I considered doing fieldwork on Masai cultural tourism in Kenya (see Bruner 2004). But learning about the University of Tromsø and the University of Botswana (UB)

²² The Sámi people constitute an indigenous minority in the northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.

‘Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building’ (the ‘NUFU-Pro 46/02’²³), I decided to go to Botswana and learn more about the situation of the indigenous San people. At the ‘Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous peoples’ conference in Tromsø, October 2005, I was introduced to a representative of Kuru Family of Organisations (Karine Rousset) to whom I presented my MA-project idea. A volunteer/student placement was established with TOCaDI – Kuru’s field-branch in Shakawe, north-western Botswana – to arrive in March and stay until July, 2006. The plan was that I would come and work with one of the Trusts which TOCaDI supports, and do a case study of ‘the Cultural Hiking Trail’ which is a community-based tourism project under establishment. To overcome the issue of getting a research permit, UB/Tromsø facilitated a registration as an UB exchange student, which provided me with a visa and subsequent extension.

My fieldwork was conducted between March 18 and July 15, 2006. The first couple of weeks were spent at UB in Gaborone, getting familiar with the situation and preparing my three months stay in the north. Looking back at my effort to get as much information on my topic as possible before ‘going to the field’ – i.e. the north – it strikes me that ‘data’ is not necessarily something one collects at the National Museum, the Tourism Department or from the national papers. Rather, it evolves out of a process of learning and understanding – a socialisation process – which builds on itself. As such, it is also obtained through small-talk and everyday events. This is as I see it, the main strength – and challenge – with the anthropological method; participant observation through fieldwork.

2.2 The Anthropological Fieldwork

Doing fieldwork teach us ‘a way to perceive the world’, rather than just being a theory on how we ‘learned to perceive’ the world. It is more of an implicit ‘attitude to life’ than an explicit ‘philosophy of life’.
(Nielsen 1996:18, my translation)

The practice of fieldwork, as perhaps the most characteristic aspect of the anthropological discipline, is in many ways liberated from the tight step-by-step approach used in quantitative research. Decisions about research methods have to be made in gradual response to the nature of, and the development within, the social field being studied. So even if one plans what to do, focus on and which research methods to apply, upon arrival one may experience that the plan is hardly as operable or suitable as expected.

In my project proposal I wrote that I wanted to conduct a ‘classical fieldwork’ where I would stay in one of the villages involved in Hiking Trail. Upon arrival I realised that if I

²³ The programme was established at UB in 1996, and has as its overarching objective to promote research on and by San, and in this way try to make a positive contribution to San development (Saugestad 2005).

were to grasp the complexity of the relationship between the local San communities, and the tourism industry, I could not limit my focus to one level of this interaction ('micro'). Instead, I got a room at the TOCaDI office in Shakawe, from where I was able to travel around, visiting various sites, arenas and institutions, and talking to people on different geographical and social levels. Hence, adoption a '*multi-sited*'²⁴ approach was a methodological move to be able to handle the density and diversity of my subject matter. This has also given me an experience of how 'the field' is not necessary one geographical place, but various places, happenings and situations, and therefore something which is constantly formed, changed and maintained through shifting situations.²⁵ I do for instance remember talking with my supervisor on the phone during my first weeks at TOCaDI, complaining that I did not feel that I was spending enough time 'in the field', which in my eyes were the rural villages involved in the Hiking Trail. Though she pointed it out, it took me some time to realise that all the places I visited, people I met and situations I experienced; staying at UB, TOCaDI's office, a visiting a safari company, a village workshop, a Sunday dinner party, a conversation with a lodge managers or a governmental officer, together constituted my field. I was therefore never actually out of the field. As such, 'the field' is given a reality by the researcher through her research subject (Holliday 2002:43).

2.3.1 Participant observation

The staff at TOCaDI is used to have people coming for research and study. When learning about my research project, some of the staff came and asked about my methods because, as they said, they did not see me do any 'research'; no questionnaires or tape-recorded. This casual, everyday feature of participant observation is maybe what makes it the most prevailing field method within anthropology. By means of participation and observation, one is able to *observe* the activities, people and the physical characteristics of the social situation, and furthermore, *join in* and feel what it is like to be part of the situation (Spradley 1980). As such, doing participant observation has many things in common with what one does when entering a new social situation: I recall the first weeks, feeling lost as how to conduct myself, while working hard to understand what the people and organisation was all about. I tried to adapt by watching and following the examples of the staff; showing up at eight, greeting

²⁴ George Marcus concept of 'multi-site fieldwork' is base on the understanding that global processes have local implications; thus many of the processes studied by anthropologist take place at various sites at once. So instead of working along geographical lines, the anthropologist is practically moving around with the topic studied (Engebrigsten 2002:235).

²⁵ Gupta and Ferguson (1997) recognise that the imperative for reworking the idea of 'the field' in Anthropology, is the now widely expressed doubt about the lack of fit between the problems raised by a mobile, changing, globalizing world, and a method originally developed for studying supposedly small-scale, bounded societies (see also Shore 1999).

everybody, drinking tea and then learning the schedule of the day. Slowly, as I got to know the organisation, the staff and the ‘office culture’ I felt less like a stranger and more like an ‘ordinary participant’ who would join – and after a while was also expected to join – meetings, workshops and field trips, without giving it too much thought. The first month at TOCaDI was thus a period of orientation, spending most of my time observing the work of the organisation and trying to develop relations and trust with those with whom I was going to work.

While being involved directly in many activities and situations, like helping prepare the Cultural Hiking Trail (see 4.3.2), I have also tried to pull back physically and mentally, to become ‘explicitly aware’ of the things which one usually blocks out from everyday observations (cf. Spradley 1980). I was however not always able to control when to participate and when to observe. For instance, during meetings or workshops where Setswana – the national language – was spoken, I was only able to observe. In general, being unskilled in both Setswana and Khwedam/San languages, I have had to depend on interpreters, who have been obtained rather easily. One should be aware that using an interpreter might affect the validity of the data, for instance if they give ‘mild’ or ‘seducing’ translations. I would therefore try to double-check the interpretation by asking for translations both during the conversation and also asking for a ‘summary’ afterwards. I also experienced how knowing at least some basic language, like greetings, was essential to obtain acceptance in some situations, especially when approaching elders who spoke little or no English.

Despite moments of methodological insecurity, where I had to stop and ask myself if what I was doing could qualify as research, I stuck rather consistently to participatory observation, complemented however by other more structured methods.

2.3.2 Other methods and data sources

Much information and data have been obtained by exploring and discussing various topics with informants. A large part of these informal conversations can be defined as ‘*ethnographic interviews*’, which are interviews where one just let ‘information emerge’ (Sammy 2001) without necessarily pre-made questions, pen and paper. The flexibility of this approach makes it easier to do spontaneous interviews whenever the opportunity arises.

The everyday effort to type my observations and experiences on my computer often revealed new information, understandings and questions, which sometimes could be developed into more semi-structured, focused and topic-oriented interviews (cf. Spradley 1980 ‘the Ethnographic Research Cycle’). The strength with semi-structured interviews is that

they help produce specific answers to questions of concern (Sørensen 2003). I also experienced that if the interview was too formal – if I for instance was taking notes – I would receive shorter and maybe more ‘correct’ responds and sometimes the dialogic conversational character died out. Another reason for keeping the interviews as informal as possible was my quandary of getting caught up in notes-taking. An illustrating example is an interview I did with one of the ‘tops’ at Okavango Wilderness Safaris’ (OWS) – one of the leading safari companies in Botswana. Though having prepared an interview-guide, it never got to the point where I was able to pose my questions. Instead, I ended up responding to my informant. Looking back, I think my effort to document the whole conversation made me incapable of taking control over the interview situation.²⁶

Besides ethnographical data, I have used secondary data sources, including governmental policy papers, tourism brochures, management plans and constitutions, newspaper articles, theses, reports, speeches, meeting protocols and workshop summaries. The librarians at UB, HOORC, TOCaDI and D’kar have been very helpful.

2.3 Representing the Others

Qualitative research has to be carefully managed as a social activity which is as ideological and complex as those it studies. (Holliday 2002:1)

Anthropologists are socially positioned peoples who, on the basis of our own world view, culture and values, participate in and influence directly or indirectly the life of our informants. We should therefor make an effort to reflect critically on our role and position while in the field, and also on the act of writing about our experiences upon return.

Ever since the first Europeans arrived in southern Africa, the San have found themselves as an object for ‘outside’ representation through ethnographies, museums exhibitions, novels, documentaries and blockbuster films like “The Gods Must Be Crazy”. Having a unique position in both Western and African imagination as their self-defining inversion, the San have without doubt also been an icon to anthropologists (M. Taylor 2000:16), who historically probably have had the greatest interest in studying and presenting ‘primitive’ people and ‘exotic’ places. Anthropologists have therefore been much involved in creating and reproducing stereotypical characterisations of indigenous people like the San.²⁷ But anthropological research has also played an important role in recording and using cultural

²⁶ Robben (1995) refers to similar episodes as cases of ‘ethnographical seduction’: By unintentionally giving informants a chance to manipulate and obstruct the gathering of ethnographic data, important information might be twisted or overlooked.

²⁷ The critique from M. Taylor (2000) and others is that much San research only encapsulate San as ‘hunter-gatherers’, thus ignoring how they present themselves, which in many cases is in terms of a hunting and gathering *past*. Hence, the salience of hunting and gathering is more as a symbol that forms culture and gives meaning in everyday life (ibid.:19).

knowledge to support indigenous movements, land discourses and efforts to regain self-determination (Strang 2003).

Being familiar with the long history of San (mis)representation, and coming to Botswana to study it in its modern form (e.g. tourism representations), made me feel humble when taking on the task of representing the San. I have thus made an effort to explain my research objectives and motivation to my informants and host organisation. I have also tried, to the best of my ability and capacity, to conduct a reciprocal fieldwork where my study and participation hopefully have had, and will have, some value for those who have been involved. Yet, as anthropologists, we need to recognise that constructing a representation of our research findings is a means by which (symbolic) power is exercised, both for good and bad. By being explicit about who 'owns' the given presentation, by identifying one's own (pre)conceptions, and by letting the informants help control the presentation by including their voices in the ethnographic text, one can at least try to balance this power asymmetry. This is perhaps even more important when dealing with indigenous people, who are often placed within structures of dominance, unable to speak their voice and present their own case.

3. ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

Methodology does not only refer to research methods while in the field. It also includes *theoretical perspectives* and *analytical concepts* applied to process the ‘raw’ empiri when returning from the field. In this chapter I will introduce some general theoretical concepts and perspectives which I perceive as important when analysing and discussing the relationship between Indigenous People, Development and Tourism.

3.1 Indigenous Peoples

Being indigenous denotes a structural position for a group of people whose main characteristic is a lack of influence over the workings of the state, and therefore also over their own situation, and it is often accompanied by discriminatory attitudes from the majority population. (Saugestad 2001:30)

Precise estimates for the world’s total population of indigenous people are difficult to compile, and range from 300 million (WIGP²⁸) to 350 million (IWGIA). But who are indigenous people? When, for example, new national states were created in postcolonial Africa, or when immigrants from Europe settled in America and Australia, those people who occupied the territory *prior* to colonisation or formation of the present state, became marginalised and discriminated against because their culture and way of life were different and considered inferior by the dominant majority. Being in the periphery to both global and national movements only a generation ago, most indigenous people are today in one way or the other, involved in inter-cultural and global exchanges. Such encounters have in some cases led to severe changes and even extinction of cultures. But in numerous other cases one can observe that indigenous cultures are undergoing processes of *revitalisation*, where customs, language, cultural symbols and knowledge is transformed and revived. Cultural revitalisation processes may also become a political means by which the dominant majority rule and structure can be challenged and opposed. However, indigenous groups do not claim their own state. Instead they insist on some degree of self-determination within the nation state where they stay (Thuen 1995). Indigenous organisations and cross-global cooperation have played a significant role in these processes by establishing arenas for indigenous people to meet and set their own agenda. It has at the same time deepened the understanding of how the many challenges faced by indigenous groups are linked in form and substance, such as poverty, cultural and legal discrimination, forcible relocation, exploitation of natural and cultural resources, as well as lacking political determination and autonomy. Saugestad (2001)

²⁸ The UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) was established in 1982 with a mandate to review development pertaining to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples, and to give attention to the evolution of international standards concerning indigenous rights

sees the most common features among indigenous groups as their *asymmetrical* relationship to the (state) majority; not only in sheer numbers, but also with regard to political power and control. The call for an indigenous right concept should be seen as a reflection of indigenous people's search and struggle for empowerment. Getting admission to indigenous rights however, demands that one claims, *and* gets recognition for, one's indigenous status. But which criterion applies?

3.1.1 Defining 'Indigenous'

The development of indigenous rights represent an evolution in what constitutes a right, as well as it creates a growing awareness that indigenous peoples are particularly vulnerable in the face of globalisation (IPACC). So far there is no universal, standard or unambiguous definition of 'indigenous people'. Through international discourses in law, anthropology and politics over the last decade, consensus has been reached regarding some criteria by which indigenous peoples globally can be identified and characterised (Saugestad 2001). The most widespread approach to the concept, and the so far only legally binding definition for its signatories, is the *International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention no. 169 (1989) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries*.²⁹ Here indigenous people are defined in accordance with the following criteria:

- They are descendants of the people who inhabited the area at the time of arrival of other ethnical and cultural groups (i.e. '*first arrival*').
- Alongside colonization and formation of a national state, they have preserved and maintain a traditional culture, resource adaptation, language and social, political and economical institutions which differs and separates them from the present majority (i.e. '*cultural distinctiveness*').
- They are placed under a state structure which incorporates national, cultural and social characteristics alien to their own. This puts them in a non-controlling, asymmetrical relation with the state government and the majority population (i.e. '*non-dominance*').
- Finally, the criterion of '*self-identification*' is fundamental: people signal to the inside and outside group that they see themselves as different from the majority and identify themselves as indigenous.

²⁹ The Martínez Cobo-study commissioned by UN in the 70's, gave a preliminary definition to identify and deal with indigenous problems and concerns within the UN system and by governments.

However, as the San people's situation clearly demonstrates, processes of *internal* identification are not sufficient to get recognised as indigenous. Jenkins (1997:53) states that:

“Although conceptualized in the first instance as internal, these processes [of identification] are necessary transactional and social (even in the individual case) because they presuppose both an audience, without whom they make no sense, and an externally driven framework of meaning”.

In other words, one's social identity also has to be *externally* recognised by 'significant Others', thus making external identification a fundamental feature of self-identification.³⁰ Furthermore, C. Taylor (1994:32) states that: “We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us”. This suggests that a group or a person lacking power or authority are in whole or in part, forced to assimilate the external (mis)recognised identity as their own; that is, they *internalise* a picture of their own inferiority. In this way, mis- or non-recognition becomes a form of oppression which can inflict serious social and cultural wounds and create self-contempt. Due recognition is not just a courtesy one owes people. It is a vital human need (ibid.).

Applied to a Botswana context, it becomes apparent how the Governments 'misrecognition' of the San as indigenous – e.g. failing to ratify the ILO Convention 169 – has kept them as low ranged marginalised citizens 'outside' the Botswana society. However, according to the criteria above, there can be little doubt about the San people's indigenous status. But as discussed, employing the term within the Botswana national context is controversial and far from politically convenient³¹.

To understand processes of identification and misrecognition, one needs to focus on and examine the manner in which different modes of dominance are embedded in the social construction of the world structures. In what follows, I will present some key concepts applicable when trying to grasp and explain the complex dynamics at work in asymmetrical minority-majority relations – e.g. between the indigenous San; the Government; the Tswana/Bantu majority or the private tourism sector.

3.1.2 Asymmetrical relations and indigenous people – some theoretical considerations

When discussing relations of dominance within a theoretical framework, the concept of '*hegemony*' offers an explanatory basis. According to Gramsci, who first developed the concept, it refers to relations of class dominance; not only political and economical

³⁰ The distinction between internal and external definition is primary analytical. In daily life, each is embedded in the other in an ongoing process.

³¹ One should also be aware of the complexity with applying the 'indigenous concept' within an *Africa colonial context* in general, where the black/white dichotomy in many ways created the notion that all native Africans were indigenous (see IPACC; Saugestad 2001; Sissons 2005).

dominance, but also the *ideological predominance* of the ruling class (Seymour-Smith 1986). That is, the imposition of the world-view, norms, values, attitudes, categories, etc. of ‘the dominant majority’ (not necessary in sheer numbers) upon society as a whole, through, for instance, education system, religion and other structures and institutions constructing the symbolic reality. And furthermore, making those who are subordinated to these structures and systems, accept or internalise them as part of the ‘natural order’. Ardener’s term ‘*muted groups*’ (1977) can apply when discussing how marginal minorities have been silenced or rendered inarticulate by the dominant majority controlling the public discourse. With ‘muted’, Ardener did not mean that minorities are not talking. But if they are to express themselves, they must do so through the dominant mode of expression – the hegemonic ideology. By having the power to define ‘reality’, the dominant majority prevents the minority from constructing alternative and challenging world definitions. Ardener originally used women as an example, but Saugestad (2001) argues that ‘muted groups’ can also apply to ethnic or indigenous minorities. From the prevailing majority attitude that the San are uncivilised and unorganised, it follows that the San are not fully able to present their own case, and must be spoken for by others. As such, the San becomes the prototypical ‘muted group’ (ibid.).

Bourdieu (1977) elaborates the idea of hegemony by introducing the distinction between ‘*doxa*’ – the unspoken, un-reflected and taken-for-granted (‘habit’), and ‘*opinion*’ – a discursive field open for arguments, discussions and reflections:

When there is a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective structures [‘reality’] and the subjective principles of organization [‘reality’ as defined by the hegemony]...the natural and social world appears as self-evident. This experience we shall call *doxa*, so as to distinguish it from an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs [‘opinion’] (ibid.:164).

Bourdieu emphasises that the dominant classes (‘the majority’) have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa, thus protecting its hegemony. The dominated classes (‘the minority’) on the other hand, have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken-for-granted (ibid.:169). By pointing to the contrast between the undisputed (doxa) and the disputed (opinion), and furthermore stressing the possibility to reveal the truth of doxa by constituting a *field of opinion* – “bring the undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation” (Ibid.:168) – Bourdieu makes way to explain *counterhegemonic* processes (e.g. ethno-political struggles), which are explicit, but also implicit, efforts to resist, challenge and change the hegemonic structure. The dominant definition of the world directs, but do not determine, consciousness and social action (M.

Taylor 2000:120). Hence, hegemony is never as total as it would claim (Ortner 1984:154). Bourdieu emphasises however, that it is only when the minority has material and symbolic power to reject the imposed definition, and to lift the (institutionalised or internalised) censorship which it implies, that the hegemonic structures can be revealed as just one possible order among others, and thus confronted (ibid:169). But this also imply that counterhegemonic efforts must be fought within, or on the premises defined by, the hegemonic world structures and mode of expression – i.e. the majority language, culture, socio-political institutions, categories, normative hierarchy, and so on.

With these theoretical considerations, I have begun to discuss some analytical concepts that may illuminate the empirical context with which this thesis deals. I will further elaborate on Bourdieu's (1977; 1996) notion of power, or 'capital', and the distinction he makes between social, cultural, economic *and* symbolic power/capital. My argument is that by identifying the actors, structures or institutions with power to define 'development' (or 'authenticity'), one may also discover something about power relations in society at large; how they are formed and transformed.

3.2 Conceptualising 'Development'

Development comes to be defined in a multiplicity of ways because there is a multiplicity of 'developers' who are entrusted with the task of development (Cowen & Shenton in Allen & Thomas 2000:24)

Development as an idea can apply to any field, from technology and biology to art and social life. In this thesis I am mainly concerned with the *development of societies*, within which development of individuals and localities are embedded. Little consensus exists on what development is, should be, how it is best obtained, whether it is occurring, and why it is difficult for some actors like poor countries, to create a *sustainable* development. In general terms, development refers to a dynamic process of improvement, which implies change, evolution, growth and advancement. In relation to development of societies, the simplest definition is perhaps that given by Robert Chambers, for whom development simply means 'good change' (Allen & Thomas 2000:22). In this sense development becomes a clear-cut positive process – 'progress'. But this definition does not include that development may also entail disruption of established pattern of living, like cultural values, tradition or forms of livelihood, to achieve whatever that is regarded as improvement for a society. Allen and Thomas show that there are several important general points about the idea of development which makes it go beyond simply 'good change', and which together makes it an inherently ambiguous concept:

“development can be described as not only ‘good change’, but also *all-encompassing* change, which *build on itself*, occurs at *both societal and individual* levels, and may be *destructive as well as creative*.” (ibid.:48, my emphasis)

Although the meaning of development is highly contested and indeed the very idea of development is challenged,³² there is at least a general agreement about the need to study and analyse the relationship between development and *poverty* – i.e. that development must include tackling poverty. This may seem obvious: poverty implies lack of development, while development implies eradication of poverty. But experiences show that it is quite possible to characterise something as development (e.g. growth in national GDP), without the occurrence of poverty alleviation (the general population is still poor and marginalised). The situation for the San of Botswana is a case in point. Even within a democracy, the San experience the ‘caring oppression’ caused by mixing welfare with marginalisation; giving free aid while limiting opportunities and creating dependency (see Saugestad 2001).

Considering the contradictory character of the development concept, it becomes important to identify and be clear about the different senses of development and how they direct action – i.e. what development strategy a society apply. There are in particular conflicting views about the relationship between economic and social development: development as mainly economic *progress*, versus development as *processes* of human empowerment and participation.

3.2.1 Different senses of ‘Development’

The era of industrial capitalism was in many ways the beginning of the modern idea of development (Allen & Thomas 2000). Development was conceived as an immanent economic process governed by the logic of capitalism and the self-regulating market. ‘Social’ problems like health, unemployment, income distribution and social exclusion, were of secondary importance to an overall vision of economical growth and well-being. ‘*Economic development*’ can briefly be defined as ‘economic growth’, where an actor makes a deliberate effort to sustain the increase in the size of its economy, and raise the productivity; that is, improve the technology, skills, knowledge and capacity, related to production (ibid.:31). Although social or human aspects of development have been incorporated in today’s development discourse (see for instance the UN Human Development Index – HDI), the world is still dominated by capitalist economies where most, if not all, aspects of modern industrial society are elevated to represent the ideal of what development is, and how to

³² Without further discussion, it can be said that voices from the so-called ‘*post-development*’ school claim that development has failed, or worst, it was always a hoax designed to prolong western imperialism (Allen & Thomas 2000).

achieve it. However, as stressed by various scholars and supported by the growing number of NGOs engaged in development work, the economic top-down model lacks an understanding of the dynamic and complex causes of poverty and deprivation, embedded in political policies, social values and ideologies of social change (Sørensen 2003). In response to this, there has evolved alternative social or people-oriented definitions of development, primarily built on non-economic factors. One such approach derives from Amartya Sen, who views poverty and underdevelopment as “the failure to be able to take full part in society” (Allen & Thomas 2000:14), which is not only a matter of poor material living standards but also lack of choice or capability. For instance, unequal access to resources and social services, livelihood opportunities, security and the existence of rights, influence, status and dignity. In this sense, development is not only about combating or ameliorating material poverty, but also restoring basic human capabilities and freedoms. Development strategies have thus changed emphasis towards the processes of how to create development, rather than only focusing on the outcome.

This alternative approach to development is often seen in terms of ‘*participation*’ and ‘*empowerment*’, where the idea is that people should be enabled (empowered) to participate in, and control, their own development process by building confidence in their own capacity. In other words, social development or empowerment should be a process which grows from *within* societies, founded on what is intimately known to the people themselves, and only secondly expounded by acquiring knowledge from ‘outsiders’ (Magole & Magole 2005). As a vision, this seems clear and simple. Realising it however, is far from simple, especially considering that the target groups often are wholly or partially excluded from participation and decision-making in the society in which they live. Transforming the overall power structures both at local, national and global levels is therefore crucial if people are to take active part in their own development process. Consequently, it becomes clear that empowerment cannot be achieved without support from some more powerful agents allied with the marginalised groups, like NGOs, donors, governments, or joint venture partners. How they get legitimacy to act on behalf of the marginalised, and furthermore, whose interests they are (really) representing, is an empirical question.

I have so far offered a rather polarised understanding of economic versus social development. I therefore introduce the idea of *sustainable development*, which stresses that social, economic and ecological aspects of development should be of equal importance.³³

³³ Since my main focus is tourism’s role in processes of economic development and empowerment for the San, tourism impact on ecological resources will not be given explicit attention.

More specifically, sustainable development refers to a development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987:43). The concept evolved as a response to a global concern over the degradation of the world’s natural resources due to economic development. More broadly, sustainable development strategies aim at maintaining a balance between three general policy areas: economic productivity and efficiency, social inclusion and equity, and environmental conservation. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001) elaborates the concept further by stating that “...cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature”. It becomes “one of the roots of development understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence”. In this sense, cultural diversity becomes the fourth policy area of sustainable development.

In relation to my empirical focus, encouraging and supporting San communities to establish Community Trusts and engage in CBNRM tourism projects can be perceived as efforts to try and change power relations and institutional arrangements to promote sustainable development and empowerment. But as I will argue and discuss, in spite of emphasising sustainable development and empowerment in policy programmes and regulation, the Botswana government, and maybe also the private tourism sector, are in reality practicing and supporting a rather clear economic development strategy where the marginal situation of the San is dealt with as only an issue of *material* poverty.

3.2.2 Symbolic power – power to define ‘reality’

According to Marxist theories, the most important forms of action or interaction to focus on when trying to explain the form of any given structure at any given time, are those which take place in asymmetrical or dominant relations (Ortner 1984:147). Therefore, to understand indigenous peoples struggle for sustainable development within a modern national context, it may be useful to approach development as a particular set of symbolic power relations. Before doing this some clarifying notions regarding the rather diffuse concept of ‘*power*’, is necessary. On the one side, power takes form as an immediate experience through for instance, violence or restrictive policies and rules. This can be described as a direct coercive power used by actors or institutions to achieve their explicit aims. On the other side and maybe in most cases, power can be identified and communicated through its *symbolic forms*, which are inherent in everyday social practises, events and interactions, and therefore not experienced as ‘power’ (Krohn-Hansen & Vike 2000). A key conception of power from this

point of view is the constitution of *legitimate knowledge*. Through the concept of ‘*symbolic power*’ or ‘*symbolic capital*’,³⁴ Bourdieu (1996) draws attention to power as a relational, embodied and unconscious practice. ‘Symbolic power’ can be perceived as processes where ‘symbolic systems’ like art, science, religion, language (i.e. ‘structuring structures’ or ‘symbolic hierarchies’), structure or construct the objective world (i.e. ‘structured structures’ or ‘symbolic forms’). In other words; symbolic power is the ability to instil ones particular definition of ‘reality’ (‘sense’) upon others – e.g. what one recognises as right/wrong, beautiful/ugly, traditional/modern, authentic/inauthentic, developed/primitive, etc. – and through this, attain and sustain one’s privileged position in society. For symbolic power to be successfully exercised, it needs the unconscious consent and participation of its ‘subalterns’; “sense = consensus, i.e. ‘doxa’” (1996:39). The main strength with symbolic power is therefore that it is an invisible power; ‘habitual’, objective and institutionalised, thus not perceived as power but accepted as ‘reality’. This implies that symbolic power is not power in itself, but a ‘power resource’; a manner in which other power relations are revealed or perceived, and as such, a transformed and legitimate form of other power forms (Bugge 2002a). In addition to symbolic power Bourdieu (1996) distinguishes between three other manifestation of power or capital. First there is ‘*economic power*’, which can exist in the form of material objects or juridical guarantees for such objects – e.g. money, property. ‘*Cultural power*’ could be perceived as embodied individual qualities and dispositions, acquired through processes of internalisation or socialisation (cf. ‘*habitus*’) – e.g. education, language manners, ‘taste’, scientific knowledge, appearance, social conduct, features, etc. And there is ‘*social power*’, which is exclusive forms of social relations and networks (e.g. friendships, contacts, loyalty, reciprocal obligations, etc.), that can be used by actors to generate productive socio-economic returns.

Bourdieu’s power perspective can bring to the fore how power is accumulated, created and sustained through development processes, and can therefore be a theoretical lens through which ‘development’ can be studied. The argument is that those who are in the position to define what development is, are those who hold power (hegemony) in society at large. M. Taylor (2000:118f) argues along similar lines by referring to Escobar who states that thinking of development as a particular set of discursive power relations makes it possible to *observe*

³⁴ Bugge (2002b:224) interpret Bourdieu’s ‘capital-theory’ as his theory of ‘power’ – “the power distribution in society is according to the distribution of social, cultural, and economical capital, thus making Bourdieu’s notion of capital his idea of power [power is a scarce resource]”.

relation of power and domination, and at the same time explore more fruitfully the conditions of opportunities and the most persistent effects of development.

Development thus becomes, in part, an attempt to produce governable subjects largely by asserting norms and forms (such as fields of knowledge and types of landscape) by which a society can be understood and regulated (ibid.).

The conception of symbolic power also has an explanatory role when analysing the (re)quest for authenticity in tourism interactions and production.

3.3 Tourism – a Rising Global Industry and an Anthropological Field of Research

The most widely accepted, but rather technical definition of ‘tourists’, is the one applied by the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), which states that tourists are temporary visitors who travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for at least twenty-four hours for purposes either classified as ‘leisure’ (recreation, holiday, study, religion, sport and health) or ‘business’ (family mission, meeting, etc.).³⁵ Tourism is thus the act of travel for predominantly leisure or business purposes, but it also refers to the service industry supporting this act. At the beginning of the new millennium, tourism is firmly established as the number one industry in many countries and the world’s fastest-growing economic sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings, job creation and governmental revenues (UNWTO). Tourism has therefore become an economic desirable activity for transnational corporations, but also for Third World developing nations, who are increasingly believed, by various actors (government agencies, NGOs, UN, IMF), to employ tourism as a means of poverty reduction and development. Although it may appear as an easy way of creating development, tourism is in practice a complex global system that hinges on major tangible (e.g. infrastructure) and intangible elements (e.g. tourist demand, motivation, and attitude). For instance, to run a successful tourism business one needs to make substantial investments (cf. economic power or capital), have knowledge about the codes and peculiarities of the tourism sector, hold business, management and marketing skills (cf. cultural power or capital) and be part of a network of important relations (cf. social power or capital). The requirements for success in the tourism business are therefore multifaceted.

3.3.1 Theorising ‘Tourism’ – a (re)quest for authenticity

Tourism is a relatively new field of interest within the social sciences, as it also is a relatively new trend of modern life. The scholarly study of tourism as a cultural phenomenon in an

³⁵According to Cohen (1984), the UNWTO definition is useful for statistical, legislative and industrial purposes, but is unsatisfactory for most sociological work because it is too broad and theoretical barren.

anthropological sense,³⁶ rather than merely an exotic secondary topic, emerged in late 1970's, where the publication of MacCannell's book *The Tourist: A new Theory of the Leisure Class* (1999 [1979]) was of seminal importance. MacCannell argued that modern man seeks experiences of 'authenticity' through tourism, because modern life offers more and more reproduction, hence, lack the authenticity believed to be found in the lives of the primitive Others:

The progress of modernity ('modernization') depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity. For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in pure, simpler life-styles (1999:3).

Perceived as analogous to the religious pilgrimage for ultimate reality, the modern quest for authentic experiences induces modern man to become tourists 'to get off the beaten path' and 'in with the natives' (ibid.:97). This is done by trying to gain access to the 'back region' of society, as it is seen to hold and reveal the secret or real life of the Others. But what is being exposed to tourists is not the institutional 'back stage' as Goffman (1993) defines it. Rather, it is a 'staged' back region constructed to appear as authentic – '*staged authenticity*' – and as such, it becomes just another 'front stage' (MacCannell 1999). Caught within these 'false' back stages from where there is 'no exit', MacCannell concludes that tourists' search for authenticity is an endless, futile quest (Cohen 1984). Thus, the modern 'tourist pilgrimage' is damned to inauthenticity.

Although MacCannell's work has been criticised and modified along various lines – like for reducing the variety of tourists³⁷ and for *objectifying* authenticity (see 6.1) – it has brought attention to the tourist *quest* and how it directs tourist interaction. In continuation of MacCannell, it is suggested that authenticity should rather be understood as a socially *constructed* concept – a symbolic construct – contextual and ideological defined (Garland & Gordon 1999; Silver 1993), open for negotiation and discourse, and is thus not something fixed (Bruner 1994; Cohen 1988). Saugestad (2001:56) notes:

...while 'overt signals and signs' [of ethnicity] are important, precisely what constitute significant signs will change over time, as material culture, technologies and other aspects of adaptations undergo modernisation. A culture cannot be frozen as authentic at any given point in times, as if subsequent changes make a culture less authentic.

³⁶ Tourism was for long widely dismissed as an inappropriate arena for anthropological research, both in theoretical and methodological terms. Vital paradigm shifts within the discipline have however led to anthropology's 'discovery' of tourism.

³⁷ MacCannell talks of tourists as a unitary group. However, empirical evidence shows that tourists differ considerably from one another in their motivation, travelling style and activities (Cohen 1984).

The social and symbolic practices or processes through which the 'authentic' is negotiated, defined, and hence, controlled, should therefore be made a key issue when studying tourism relations and tourist experiences.

Given that tourism is much dependent on easily recognisable visual images or symbols, it can be argued that the tourism industry serves an important role in the process of constructing or defining authenticity (Olsen 2003). To obtain tourists' recognition³⁸ it often becomes necessary to *essentialise* culture by endorsing some selected, reified and stereotypic signs or images, which can be inscribed as symbols of *a* Culture, and thus become public statements about cultural differences. The signs chosen as symbols are generally those which are both immediately apparent to the tourist and which carry the most contrasting connotations. For example, signs which refer to the 'traditional' – 'hunting' and 'gathering' – appear as contrasts to what one imagines as 'modern' – buying food with money. Often perceived and presented as 'Noble Savages' living a primitive and pristine life yet untouched by modernity, indigenous peoples fit nicely into the touristic representation of the authentic Others. One observable example is how producers of travel brochures, guidebooks or postcards, try to cater to certain images within 'Western' consciousness about how the Others are imagined to be (Adam 1984; Silver 1993). Approaching tourism as consumption of authentic cultural symbols, necessarily involves addressing the issue of cultural *commercialisation* or *commoditisation*, which can be explained as:

“a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange system in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market” (Cohen 1988:380).

Debates surrounding cultural commercialisation through tourism have in many cases been forwarded in negative terms; especially in relation to indigenous peoples' culture. But before dismissing tourism as all bad for local or indigenous communities, it would be prudent to critically examine the assumed negative link on a theoretical, and later also on an empirical, ground in order to reach perhaps some more realistic conclusions.

³⁸ Urry (1990), another tourism researcher, apply the notion of '*the tourist gaze*' to analyse tourism as a particular visual practice where 'the gaze' is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs.

3.4 Indigenous Culture and Tourism Commercialisation

One has to bear in mind that commoditisation often hits a culture not when it is flourishing, but when it is actually already in decline, owing to the impingent of outsider forces preceding tourism. Under such circumstances, the emergence of a tourism market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish. It might enable its bearers to maintain a meaningful local or ethnic identity which they might otherwise have lost. (Cohen 1988:382)

The impact of tourism on host communities is by far the most intensively researched issue area within socio-cultural studies of tourism (Cohen 1984). Much of this research emphasise how tourism seize on certain areas of local culture and traditions, which prior to tourism was outside the capitalist market-sphere, (e.g. traditional music and arts, rituals, dance ceremonies, traditional knowledge and skills), and turn them into commodities for tourist consumption. The assumption is therefore that commercialisation, engendered by tourism, allegedly changes the meaning of, and destroys the authenticity of, cultural products, symbols and human relations for locals but also for the tourists. Due to their presumed fragility indigenous people are frequently referred to as potential victims of touristic commercialisation. Willard (2005) states:

The commercialization of culture (...) is jeopardizing the very culture sold to tourists, because as the economy shifts from a traditional subsistence one to a commercial one, the pressure to earn income and westernize ways of life means abandoning traditional ceremonies, practices and arts (...). Their importance is lost, the tradition is no longer practices, and passed on to younger generations it is performed as entertainment.

To understand the negative link between tourism and indigenous culture analytically, one should try to identify the meaning layered within them as semiotic concepts – that is, their social connotations.

The most common feature of tourism is perhaps its inherent link with the ‘modern’, ‘commercial’ and ‘global’. On the other hand, creating connotations like ‘primitive’, ‘nature’ and ‘exotic’, indigenous culture are recognised as traditional systems; the modern antithesis both in organisational forms and in conceptual terms (see Burns 1999; Meethan 2001). The problem with applying these perceptions when explaining empirical contexts, is that it tend to simplify reality to merely binary oppositions – ‘traditional’/‘modern’, ‘authentic’/‘inauthentic’, ‘local’/‘global – conceptually incapable of coexisting. The cultural reality is thus reduce to essential, reified cultural markers – ‘cultural stuff’ not compliant to change. In this sense, indigenous cultures are merely perceived as unitary, passive, and closed systems, unable to endure modern influence.

Opposing such static either/or perspective, one needs to approach and study culture as contingent and immanently changeable processes; constructed, adjusted and transformed in

accordance with changing circumstances (cf. Barth 1969; Jenkins 1997). In this way one is able to recognise the dynamic cultural contexts which tourism enters, and the variety of active responses to tourism which render cultural continuation (and innovation) possible. As such, it becomes more constructive to approach change in indigenous culture as just another, although accelerated, stage in the continuous process of cultural transformation, rather the mere deviation (Cohen 1984; 1988). The critical issue with commercialisation as cultural essentialisation is therefore not the fact that travel agents, national states or the indigenous people themselves reify culture for commercial or political purposes. Problems may however arise if such reified notions are acted upon as if they were 'reality' and embedded in every day encounters where they might become yet another instrument to create and maintain asymmetrical relations between, but also within groups (see Olsen 2003; Kramvik 1999; Sylvain 2005).

When approaching tourism, or tourism relations, as a social process where cultural practices and objects become symbols of reality, one also needs to pay attention to how cultural symbols are something which anyone with power can appropriate, copy, steal or misuse for their own advantage, without the informed consent of the cultural 'owners' (cf. symbolic '*piracy*', Harrison 1999). For ethnic and indigenous minorities whose claim for recognition and political rights are closely linked to their cultural symbols, this may have fundamental consequences (Olsen 2003). But as Harrison (1999) recognises, this should not imply that endangered cultural practices and objects need to be kept out of (commercial) circulation. Rather, the owners should be empowered – accumulate symbolic power – to prevent powerful Others, like travel agents or governments, from appropriating their cultural symbols. For this to happen, indigenous people cannot be recognised as mere objects for tourist consumption. They also have to become agents in tourism production and owners of authentic cultural symbols (Garland & Gordon 1999). Only within such context can one begin to argue for indigenous development and empowerment through tourism. CBNRM and community-based tourism both serve as examples of how the Botswana government is trying to promote local (San) involvement in tourism. On paper, this certainly looks good. But the question is, are GoB's attempts to promote local control over, and involvement in, tourism development enough to create 'true' sustainable development? And furthermore; can tourism where the product sold to tourists is not merely leisure or game viewing, but *people themselves* (or at least their authenticity), actually be empowering?

Although the issue of tourism and culture is a difficult one, the potential positive role of tourism in cultural survival should be recognised and studied. My aim is therefore to try

and proceed beyond static a-priori conceptions, and instead examine empirically the social-cultural, economic, and political dynamics involved in the relationship between tourism and indigenous people. I will try to show how tourism may also become a means by which the 'modern' and the 'traditional', the 'global' and the 'local', the 'authentic' and the 'inauthentic' can coexist; through processes of cultural preservation, transformation and innovation, and maybe even aspire to sustainable indigenous development and empowerment.

4. TEEMACANE TRUST AND THE CULTURAL HIKING TRAIL – a Case Study of a Community-Based Tourism Project

In this chapter I will present how *TOCaDI*, the organisation I have been affiliated with, is organised and operates, followed by a more comprehensive description of my main case study, *Teemacane Community Development Trust* and the *Cultural Hiking Trail*.

4.1 TOCaDI – Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives

The underlying goal of TOCaDI's programme is to utilise all possible strategies to assist firstly, but not exclusively, the San to get access to land and other resources needed for their survival. (KFO)

After two days of travelling from Gaborone and via Maun, the district capital of Ngamiland, I finally arrived in Shakawe, my hometown for the next three months. Shakawe is a small town located at the end of Okavango Panhandle River, close to the border to Namibia (see Appendix 1, map 3). The tour website 'go2africa.com' portrays the town in the following way:

Modern amenities such as electricity, telephones and a paved airstrip have recently hit the town, preparing it for future development and possibly ruin. The town is almost certain to become a tourist attraction in the future. Shakawe is currently a pleasant little town full of friendly people who will ask you what you are doing in the village and where you are going.

The TOCaDI main office is not visible from the Shakawe main road, but on the side of the road there is a sign saying: "*TOCaDI – Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative – Member of the Kuru Family of Organisation*". The fenced office area is nearside the River, and comprise five houses and a couple of storerooms. In addition to the blue conference house with an aged thatched roof and two office blocks belonging to Letloa Trust³⁹, there is TOCaDI's office building, which is hardly recognisable as a house due to the huge plants and trees covering it. The last house, just down at the river side, is a private home for TOCaDI employees. An American couple moved into the house while I was there. The man has been engaged as TOCaDI's assistance coordinator for a period of two years, helping the present San coordinator.

The first days, arriving at TOCaDI, everything was pretty much confusing and seemed disorganised and unprepared; where would I stay, with whom should I consult, what could I do and what was I allowed to do. The Coordinator and the rest of the 'heads' in the

³⁹ Letloa is a centralised service organisation for all in KFO. They perform tasks like strategic planning, fundraising, coordinate training programmes, research and prepare the KFO Annual Report. They have a branch in Shakawe and in D'kar.

organisation, were attending a KFO evaluation meeting in Ghanzi, and would not be back in office until the following week. Although I had read about KFO and TOCaDI; their mission, vision and structure, in their Annual Reports before coming, upon arrival I was somewhat starting from scratch, trying to make sense of the ‘world’ I had entered. Although it often caused frustrations, I believe that the many hours spent hanging around the office, talking with the staff and the trainees⁴⁰ – who in many ways became my key informants – have provided me with a valuable basic and rather informal understanding of the organisation. As I understood my informants, TOCaDI works as a technical facilitator and a financial supporter⁴¹ of various community-based projects in the Panhandle area, ranging from HIV/AIDS to CBNRM. When a community comes up with a project idea, for instance to produce thatching grass, or has a problem that needs to be addressed, like water access, they can come to TOCaDI and ask for assistance. Through meeting, workshops and appraisals they will together with the community, decide if and how TOCaDI is going to intervene. The most common way is to help the community establish a *Community Trust* or a CBO. This implies giving technical advice on organisation development and structures – assist election of a ‘Board of Trustees’, a Village Trust Committee (VTC) and complete a Constitution – but also help with funds or fund raising and assist the planning and implementation of community projects. The *Trust Team*, which consists of a Trust coordinator, secretary, CDFs and a Team Leader⁴², runs the Trust organisation on a daily basis. They have their base at the TOCaDI main office in Shakawe where they are provided with training and guidance until the trust can function independently. The Trust will continue to receive institutional support and guidance also after leaving TOCaDI. From what I was told and observed, the biggest challenges for TOCaDI at this stage seems to be to move the trust organisations beyond the rather straightforward process of establishment, to the more mundane, but demanding and complex process of making sure that the systems and structures are followed and managed efficiently, effectively and accountably by the trusts on a daily basis. In other words, turn the trusts into sustainable organisations.

⁴⁰ In general, the policy within TOCaDI is to recruit staff locally, with the aim of experiencing better knowledge of the area as well as long-term commitment to the development project. A restriction has however been lack of capacity among the rural population. To get a broader base of informed people in the rural communities, TOCaDI, in consultation with the communities, selected a numbers of people to be trained as Community Development Facilitators (*CDFs*). At the same time as being TOCaDI trainees, they would also work for their respective Trust. The ‘Trainee Programme’ ran 2004 to 2005, but since most of the Trusts are not financially able to hire CDFs, TOCaDI still supports some trainees so they can continue to work and help their Community Trust (Rousset 2006 – personal mail).

⁴¹ TOCaDI and KFO are enabled to finance their development work through donor support or funds from various national and international actors. The Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is one of KFO’s main donors. The UB/Tromsø programme is also one of the financial contributors. Other revenues are for instance royalties from selling ‘Voices of the San’.

⁴² See appendix IV for an illustration of the formal trust structure.

TOCaDI works with many ethnical minorities; San, Hambukushu, Wayei and Herero⁴³, by supporting the following six Community Trusts: *Teemacane Trust*, which was the first Trust under TOCaDI, originally set up to support the Khwe San (see below). *≠Hèku* Trust was mobilised by Teemacane and is like *Itekeng Trust*, which in largely is seen to represent Hambukushu interests, operating in some of the same villages as Teemacane. Then there is *Jakotsha Trust*, *Okavango Panhandle Community Trust* (OPCT) and *Tsodilo*. In addition, TOCaDI is also assisting the San Ju/'hoansi in Dobe area in the western sandveld, to get access to land and water. Because of community dynamics – i.e. a weak and marginalised Ju/'hoansi community, versus a politically strong Herero minority – no trust has yet been encouraged because ‘the fear is that the stronger minority will take control’ (Rousset 2006 November 6 – personal mail).

Besides working with the communities through their respective trusts, TOCaDI is also engaged in cross-cutting activities and programmes. I did for instance get the chance to join the ‘*HIV/AIDS Task Force*’ – which comprises members from each trust and team within TOCaDI – to one of their village information workshops. This gave me an insight in the devastating HIV/AIDS situation in the country. As one of the Task Force members pointed out: “*There is no use in trying to develop a dying village. That’s why HIV/AIDS work has such an important role in TOCaDI’s development programme.*”⁴⁴ On our way to the village workshop, we made a stop at the ‘*Mohembo Fishing Project*’ – which is a non-touristic CBNRM initiative run by Teemacane villages since 2001. I was told that the fishermen are utilising traditional fishing techniques and conservation ethic, for instance certain net-structures, number and placement of nets, and the like, to make sure that they at the same time as making money are not depleting the river resources. The focus on balancing economic development and ecological conservation – so-called ‘sustainable resource management’ – seems to be of central importance in every community projects which TOCaDI supports. Another issue that seems to be high on the organisation’s agenda is minority culture and identity conservation. The most concrete example of this is probably ‘*the Oral History Project*’, where the San are engaged in documenting and furthermore, publishing their indigenous knowledge, traditions and history. //Xom *Kyakyare Khwe:≠Am Kuri Kx’ûât*” – *The Khwe of the Panhandle – Past and Present* (2002), are together with *Voices of the San*

⁴³ The *Herero* is an ethnical minority group who fled from Namibia during the German colonial wars in 1904/05 and settled in the western part of the Delta (Root 2006).

⁴⁴ Basket production, language and mother tongue literacy work are other cross-cutting activities at TOCaDI. Unfortunately, I never got the time to study these projects more closely.

(Le Roux & White 2004)⁴⁵ the first in a series of San Oral Testimonies to be published by and for the Khwe, though with assistance from TOCaDI.⁴⁶

In sum, based on what I was told, observed and read in Kuru's Annual Reports, it seems important for the organisation to encourage and support development projects and activities that focus on 'sustainability' both in terms of economic growth, ecological conservation and empowerment. Having been directly engaged in the work of the organisation for almost three months, I have also observed and experienced the huge challenge in turning the act of promoting 'sustainable development' on paper, into a 'sustainable reality'.

4.2 Teemacane Community Development Trust – 'to stand up' [by oneself]⁴⁷

Our culture was dying when Teemacane was established (...). The Trust has saved the Khwe culture by teaching us our rights and options. Now it is more difficult to misuse us. (Kotsi Mmba - Ngarange)

Teemacane Community Development Trust was the first Community Trust that TOCaDI helped establish, and according to some people at the organisation, they are also expected to be the last trust to leave TOCaDI, that is, become self-sustained. I learned the history of Teemacane from the Trust Team:⁴⁸ During the late 1990's people from the Khwe San community in the Panhandle came together to discuss what they could do to preserve the true history and culture of their people before it was too late. They saw how their knowledge, skills and traditions were dying with the elders, and that their leadership and cultural heritage were ignored by the new settlers in the region. When KFO established TOCaDI in Shakawe in 1998, they helped the Khwe form their own community development trust – *Teemacane*, which means 'to stand up'. The Trust was officially registered in September 1999 with members from eight villages within *N/ôâxom Extension Area*: Shaikarawe, Mohembo West, Kaputura, Tobere, Xakao, Sekondomboro, Ngarange and Mogotlho. *N/ôâxom*⁴⁹ (NG10) represents the last traditional Khwe area in the Panhandle that is still unoccupied by migrating groups. It is therefore said to be of paramount cultural and historical importance for the Khwe, especially the //Anikhwe who recognise it as their most significant ancestral site – an ancestral burial ground and home for the traditional 'Rain Makers'. Traditional respect for the site by all ethnic groups did for a long time prevent destructive land use and preserved the cultural integrity of the area. With expanding population and agricultural practice, the natural

⁴⁵ The book is based on the work of a team of San interviewers who painstakingly record the oral histories and sentiments in the sayings and testimonies of their own people. The stories and images depict the disappearing culture of the many San groups spanning southern Africa, and offer a perspective on how the San themselves perceive their world, history and future.

⁴⁶ TOCaDI is also leading a similar oral project among the San Ju/'hoansi, Wayei, Hambukushu and Herero of Ngamiland.

⁴⁷ See Appendix IV for the formal organisation structure of Teemacane Trust

⁴⁸ I have brought their stories together and supplement them with data from the Trust Management Plan and Constitution.

⁴⁹ *N/ôâxom* – meaning 'red soil' or 'red cliff' – is an area of approximately 5 x 3 km (1500 ha) and comprise a portion of the eastern side of the Okavango panhandle and the nearby river bank area (see map 4, Appendix 1).

and cultural resources of the area are endangered. Preserving and restoring the ecosystem of N/ôâxom is according to the Trust Management Plan, a way to preserve and restore the Bugakhwe and //Anikhwe culture:

Traditional XaniKhoe [//Anikhwe] and BugaKhoe [Bugakhwe] culture cannot be learned by younger generations without showing why, how and where it was actively lived out. Indeed, traditional culture can only survive if they are active, and can only be active if there is means and places to show and teach them (KDT 1999:14).

In sum, as I understood it, the idea and motivation behind the formation of Teemacane Trust was to use it as a means of protecting and conserving the fragile cultural and natural resources of the Khwe San within N/ôâxom Extension Area, through promoting income generating opportunities, like the Fishing Project, and building capacity within the communities. In other words, to have the Khwe community ‘stand up by itself’.

4.2.1 Prevailing challenges in running a community-based organisation

Besides being engaged in cross-cutting activities like oral history, language and basket production, Teemacane Trust had three core projects: the Mohembo Fishing Project mentioned above, the Thatching Grass Project and the Cultural Hiking Trail project. In relation to these projects there were especially two issues that topped the Trust agenda while I was there; land allocation and financial mismanagement.

Going through the Annual Reports to learn more about how the Cultural Hiking Trail project was developed (see below), it struck me that Teemacane’s *land lease*, which they need to develop infrastructure and run the Trail on a more permanent basis, has not progressed much since 1999 when they first applied the Tawana Land Board for a head lease. Taking part in a meeting between Teemacane, Itekeng Trust and TOCaDI addressing the land issue, I learned that the main reason for rejecting Teemacane’s application was that Itekeng had also expressed interest in some of the same areas.⁵⁰ At the same time, the two trusts have been seen to represent respectively Khwe San and Hambukushu interests, thus causing their overlapping land claim to be interpreted as a *tribal* land conflict. Hence, feedback from the Land Board has been that if they give Teemacane a lease, they would favour the San and through this be promoting tribalism, which is against the Botswana Constitution. Instead, the Land Board has advised Teemacane and Itekeng to merge their objectives and form a single ‘neutral’ trust, which as I understood it was not a viable option for either.

Although Teemacane originally was established as a Khwe Trust, the cultural and ethnic diversity within the Trust villages has made it imperative to work with and support the

⁵⁰ As noted, Teemacane and Itekeng Trust (and #Hèku) operate in some of the same villages.

other ‘more powerful’ minority groups – i.e. Hambukushu, Wayei, Herero – as to avoid tension and conflicts.⁵¹ So even if TOCaDI follows a strategy of affirmative action towards the San, this is *not* a strategy of *exclusiveness*. As TOCaDI, and KFO, recognise:

When only assisting the San, other groups become quite aggressive because they feel discriminated against and competing for resources pushes the San out once more. Therefore, we redefined our strategy also to assist other people, where by doing so we will not jeopardise but prevent the San’s further marginalisation (KFO 2002).

So the reason for not wanting to merge was according to Itekeng Trust’s secretary, not that the trusts were representing different ethnic tribes. Rather, the two trusts represent different interests, objectives and run different projects within the same villages: “*Teemacane focus on Khwe and Hambukushu cultural tourism, while Itekeng deals with ecotourism, like river-wildlife safaris and mokoro trips (...). More importantly, our communities and leaders have given us the mandate to operate separately*”. He also stressed that accountability and communication would be easier to achieve when dealing with two small, rather than one large, trust.

The agenda of the meeting between Teemacane and Itekeng was to inform the respective trust representatives that they, with help from TOCaDI, would write the Land Board a letter trying to explain the situation. This was however not the first time the trusts came together to write a letter, but the previous one had in some way got lost in the office of the Land Board, and thus delayed their case. This meeting was held the second week of my stay. When I left Botswana three months later, they had still not heard anything from the Land Board.

Major delays caused mostly by the Land Board lagging behind with decisions on land allocation has been the most frustration thing for the communities...and the energy for the planned projects is threatening to lapse (KFO 2002).

With stagnation in the land allocating process the Cultural Hiking Trail project seemed to have stagnated as well. Considering the fact that Teemacane has arranged successfully pilot Trails without having formal land rights made me wonder why the Trust Team maintained a rather passive approach to the project. The TOCaDI Coordinator said that it is like Teemacane has become so obsessed with the land lease that it hinders them from finding creative ways of developing and running the project.

⁵¹ Although defining these minority groups as more powerful *in relation to* the San, as ethnic minorities (not only numerical) they are also carrying a legacy of suppression by the Tswana and the Tswana majority. However, as will be addressed later (6.4), facing the double suppression of also being an indigenous minority, the San are placed in a conceptual different category not only from the Tswana majority, but also from the other minority groups (cf. M Taylor 2000).

It seemed to me that much of Teemacane and TOCaDI's time and energy were invested in trying to overcome a slackening of record keeping and some financial mismanagement in the Trust organisation. In the beginning of 2006 it had become known that a considerable amount of the Trust's money, withdrawn by core members of the Trust to pay the thatching grass workers, had been lost or stolen. When I arrived in April, the Team and the Board had still not informed the communities about what had happened. I on the other hand, heard about the case almost right away because people at the office were continuously referring to it: "*The villagers don't know that someone is eating their money*". But at the same time, no-one really talked about it directly, at least not while I was around. I therefore never fully understood the dimension and circumstances of the case until late June when TOCaDI called a meeting to go through the police statements given by the people involved. Working with Teemacane, I was allowed to take part in the meeting together with the Team and the Board. According to the police statements, central members of the Board and the Team went to the bank in Maun to cash a cheque for the thatching grass project. At the bank they decided to double the amount withdrawn and keep half of it at TOCaDI for future trust expenditures. Instead of driving back to Shakawe like planned, they spent the night in Maun. During this time the thatching grass money had somehow got lost. Talking with people after the meeting, I felt a sense of disappointment that the case was not solved by the police statements: "*This is not the first time money disappeared and not the last if things don't start to change*" one of the Board representatives said. When I left TOCaDI, the Board, in dialogue with TOCaDI, had made appointments to inform the communities about the thatching grass money. They were also planning to run a re-election of the Board, which already sat on one year extra time.

4.3 The Cultural Hiking Trail – Past, Present and Future

Walking is a central part of our culture. We used to walk a hundred kilometres every day without any problems. Having tourists doing a walking trail reminds us how we use to travel before we started hitch-hiking or driving cars. (Kotsi Mmba, Ngarange)

The idea of developing a Cultural Hiking Trail was already set out in 1998. Together with their land application, Teemacane had a land-use and management plan prepared, and submitted it to the Land Board in 1999. The plan was to set up a hiking trail from Kaputura (a San Bugakhwe village), via Xakao (San and Hambukushu), Sekondomboro (Hambukushu and one San family) and Ngarange (San and Hambukushu), and end up at N/ôâxom (traditional //Anikhwe site), thus having four of Teemacane's villages directly involved in the Trail Project. I was told that it was the people of these villages who *initiated* and hence, were

the *owners* of the project. But I was also interested in knowing *how* the process came about; who came up with the idea, who were involved and how, and so on. One of Teemacane's CDFs said that representatives from the Trust and TOCaDI had visited the villages to introduce the project: "*We told them that it was a project that would belong to them and benefit them economically.*" Wanting a more detailed presentation, I asked the Team Leader and the Coordinator who have been with Teemacane since its birth. But even though I repeatedly raised the subject, they never gave me any precise answer. Rather, the attention was drawn to how the 'outside' people, in helping them set up the Trail, failed to leave any reports on what was done; "*When people like you come and ask about the Cultural Hiking Trail, we haven't got any reports or papers to show you.*" When I later handed over my debriefing report written to sum up and conclude this year's Hiking Trail, they all stressed how this would be of much help for people coming to work with them in the future.

Poor feedback from the Team regarding the Cultural Hiking Trail project, made me contact a student volunteer who worked with Teemacane for seven months helping them set up the Trail project. She e-mailed me all the reports and surveys which she had produced together with the Trust, and her MA-thesis written on the subject.⁵² According to her, Teemacane had received all these documents when she left, but no-one in the organisation knew if and where they kept them. What is interesting with these documents is that they give a rather detailed description of the various steps taken to try and find the best way to develop, organise and run the Cultural Hiking Trail as a community-based tourism project. For instance, the Team and the Board arranged Kgotla meetings and village workshops to include the villagers in the planning and explain the idea with the Trail. They also arranged finances and budgeting workshops, Participant Rural Appraisals (PRA) in two of the villages, and a full baseline survey which was requested by one of the donors. Recognising the capacity restrictions of the Trust communities and the ecological attributes and sensitivity of the Panhandle area, the Trust members did according to her reports, decide together with TOCaDI, to develop the Cultural Hiking Trail as a '*low-end*', '*low-impact*' tourism venture, envisaged to build on and increase the use of traditional skills, knowledge and resources found within the Trust communities. A trust exchange-visit to Namibia was therefore arranged to give Teemacane a better understanding of the concept of low-end tourism, which is rather uncommon in Botswana.

⁵² See Sammy (2001)

Although the Land Board has failed to approve Teemacane's land application, they have over the last three years set up annual trial walks ('pilots') with students from America, England, Canada and Botswana, and two charity walks with senior representatives from the Government and the private sector. Arranging these pilots was mostly perceived as a means through which the Trust and the villages could earn a small income, but also valuable practise and experience with tourism. The first Trails (2003) were organised in collaboration with 'Audi Camp', a tour and lodge operator in Maun. The collaboration was brought to a close after a year or so, for reasons unknown to me. Today people, institutions and organisations like WUSC (World University Service of Canada) who did the Trail while I was there, contact TOCaDI and Teemacane directly to make Trail arrangements.

4.3.1 From the villager's point of view

Studying the Cultural Hiking Trail project meant that I also had to try to understand the point of view of the owners of the Trust – the villagers – how they perceived Teemacane and the Trail Project, what they knew and felt about it. Finding transportation to visit the Trust villages was not always easy. I was allowed to rent a vehicle from TOCaDI. However, witnessing people's frustration regarding the bad vehicle situation in the organisation – they were either double booked, in bad condition or not working at all – made me hesitate. Instead, I tried to go with Teemacane on their field excursions or with whoever going in my direction. I did for instance make arrangements with a missionary couple working in the area, to go with them on their weekly church meeting in Kaputura, one of the Trail villages. The first time I went with them to Kaputura, I had prepared to do semi-structured interviews with the villagers regarding the Cultural Hiking Trail and Teemacane Trust. A Khwe boy, doing Bible studies with the missionaries, helped me with the translation. Before contacting either of the villagers, we went to greet the village chief⁵³ and explaining my mission. Afterwards, I 'interviewed' his son, who has been working with KFO and Teemacane for many years. Here is an extract from the interview/conversation:⁵⁴

How was the Cultural Hiking Trail set up, and in what way were the people in Kaputura included? – *The VTC organised a meeting where they gathered people who had something they wanted to show or learn the tourists. People were exited to show their culture and happy that their visitors could learn something from them, because they don't know much about the San culture.*

⁵³ The interpreter told me that the system with a village Kgotla, which is a public meeting place usually lead by a chief (a kgosi), is a traditional Tswana system, and thus not part of the San peoples leadership tradition. However, today, all villages in Botswana organise their community according to this system.

⁵⁴ Though having pre-made questions and writing down the informants respond, this extract is however only my representation and interpretation of what was said.

What do you see as positive with selling cultural performance to tourists? – *Before people would just stay home and do nothing. They had no jobs because they lacked education. We only have our culture, and if someone wants to learn about it, we can help them. The children also participate, so they also get to know their culture (...). The Cultural Hiking Trail is inexpensive tourism and different from what you get in Maun. But maybe it will attract students and tourists that are interested in our culture.*

Do you see anything negative with getting involved in tourism for you and your village? – I tried to rephrase the question to make him understand what I meant. However, his respond shows that we perceived the question differently: – *The only negative thing is the problems with the land lease. We can't realise our plans, and therefore there hasn't been any training or workshops.*

How do you see the future for you and your people? – *Today I see a better future for us. People from abroad can now learn about the San from the book 'Voices of the San'. Then they can come here and see that what the book say is true.*

What role do TOCaDI and Teemacane play for the Khwe here in Kaputura? – *Thanks to TOCaDI, we now know how to read and write our culture. They sell our information and traditional work, like baskets, music and books, to different continents. But they do not send their reports to the Government. Maybe that is why TOCaDI and the Government are friends, and not like FPK and the Government, who hate each other.*

At the end of our conversation we talked about what is happening to the San culture today, when the San are getting more involved with the modern world: *Today we are in the modern world and it's very difficult to go back to the traditional way. If I'm wearing an animal skin during a dance act, I will be in danger of getting arrested because it is not allowed to kill animals without a licence. But if [San] people get animal quotas these days, they will kill the wrong animal because the Government has made them forget their hunting skills. When tourists see us perform our traditional dances in modern clothes, they do not understand, and will ask why we are not showing our culture. But the government doesn't allow us, and that's why we don't do it every day like before.*

On my way from the chief's house I passed a group of youths home on winter vacation. Through my interpreter I asked what they knew about the Cultural Hiking Trail. One of them said that he had seen some white people camping there last year, but that he did not know why. The rest remained quiet, maybe because they did not know anything or because they were shy talking to me. The interpreter told me that most youths in rural villages like Kaputura, have to move from their home village already when attending primary school, thus leaving the village to be mostly populated by small children, adults and elders. And so, the majority of the people I talked with were elder people, permanent settlers in the village. In contrast to the youths, they were in general very much familiar with the Trail Project. They expressed happiness for the opportunity the Trail gave them to perform their culture: *"Life is better now when I can show my culture more often"* an elder musician said. Another man who has been working as a Trail guide, said: *"earlier I didn't know my culture and I didn't know how to make it come back, but the Cultural Hiking Trail has forced me to learn and remember*

my culture...and if the Trail is done every year, our culture can't disappear". When asked about the role and work of Teemacane, their voices got louder and discussions arose. Though I did not always grasp whom they were referring to – sometimes they said Teemacane while other times TOCaDI – their reservations were, as I understood it, that Teemacane (or TOCaDI) made a lot of promises which never happened. For instance, they said that Teemacane had promised to set up a store room for the basket weavers and improve the campsite so the students were not bothered by village noise, but so far nothing had happened. Another man pointed out that Teemacane used to visit the village regularly, to inform about progress in the Trail project, but lately they had not heard anything. And so, no-one really knew what was happening with the project.

Another returning issue among people in Kaputura was that the villagers involved in the Trail had not, according to them, received sufficient payment for working in the Trail. Teemacane Team had told me that there had been a lot of complaints regarding the payment after last years Trail, especially in Kaputura. One of the Team workers said that he thought that the villagers' discontent stemmed from a misconception of what the Cultural Hiking Trail is all about: *"The idea is to make this community tourism project to benefit the whole community. Confusion and complains have therefore aroused because the communities think that each of them will get a share of the Trail profit, which is not possible"*.

Some days later, after my trip to Kaputura, I ran into the chief's son in Shakawe. He told me that after the villagers had learned that they soon were going to host a new Trail group, the payment issues had again heightened the agenda. With this in mind, I decided to give the issue a closer look when assisting in the Trail preparations.

4.3.2 Preparing the Hiking Trail

When I heard that Teemacane was going to host 28 Canadian and UB students from 'World University Service of Canada' (WUSC) in the middle of May, I saw it as a great opportunity to learn more about the project and not at least, experience the Trail together with the 'tourists'. I suggested that the Team and I should make a schedule for when to start the preparations, what needed to be done, and by whom. Thought I probably was the one most enthusiastic about the idea, members of the Team sat down with me and the TOCaDI Coordinator to make a plan. They explained what needed to be done, like informing the village VTCs, clear the campsites, find guides, dancers and musicians, fetch firewood, and so on. We agreed that it would be sufficient to start working three weeks before the students arrived. However, things did not go exactly according to the plan. Due to death in the family

of three of the Team members, the preparation plan was postponed. Two weeks before the students arrived, the Trust Coordinator was back in the office after helping out at the funerals. With a tight schedule, the two of us got down to work: We visited almost every VTC ensuring that they had things under control; that the campsites were all set, that the guides, cultural artist, musicians and dancers were informed and prepared and finally, that they had managed to organised people to assist the cooking, cleaning and setting up tents. This task, assigned on request from WUSC, had previously not been part of the villagers' responsibility, thus I was eager to see how it would work.

After my first visit to Kaputura hearing people complain, I decided to do some research regarding the payment issue. The Teemacane Team Leader gave me the price or salary guide used during the previous Trails. He also told me that it was the Board and not the Team, like the villagers portray it, who has agreed on these prices. I brought the guide to the VTC Chair of Kaputura when visiting during the Trail preparation. We agreed that they should arrange a village meeting to discuss the issue and then I would bring their comments back to the office in Shakawe. When I returned some days later I received their corrections: They wanted to increase the fee to the game players, the guides, and moreover, they wanted two dance groups to perform. I told them that WUSC had only budgeted for one group, and asked if it was not possible to join the groups and have one performance. Later I learned that the leaders of the dance groups were not exactly friends, thus making my suggesting unrealistic. The Trust Coordinator, who joined me on this trip, approved the price corrections,⁵⁵ and I agreed to re-inform WUSC about changes in the prices. The payment issue was, however, not yet brought to a closure. Stopping by Kaputura with the missionaries the weekend before the Trail, I found the whole Village Trust Committee and the Chief gathered, still discussing the issue. The Chair told me that they were worried about only having one dance group to perform: *"people here are asking why the students don't want to see our culture"*, the Chairman said. I told them that I did not think it was a question of not wanting to see their culture. Rather, it was a question of having to pay two dance groups instead of one. I tried to explain that if they wanted students to continue to come for the Trail, they could not charge too high fees, at least not to begin with. I am far from certain that my 'market analysis' gained any ground. Even so, it was interesting to observe how they argued and negotiated a price on their culture, and how the dance seemed to be highly valued. When I called WUSC later that day to clarify the Trail programme and budget on final time, I also

⁵⁵ See Appendix V for the final pricelist for the Cultural Hiking Trail.

asked about the two dance groups in Kaputura. I had assumed that this was not in their budget, but to my surprise WUSC was more than willing to pay for two dance groups: *“I would like the students to experience as much as possible, and though we are visitors, we can not expect people in the villages to work for nothing”* the student supervisor said.

Before last year’s Cultural Hiking Trail there had according to the Team Leader, not been enough time to organise for the Hambukushu to have their own cultural performance when the students visited Sekondomboro. This year, however, the Coordinator and I met the VTC at the Kgotla in Sekondomboro to request them to arrange Hambukushu traditional dance and story telling. This proposal was well received within the Hambukushu ‘branch’ of Teemacane Trust, who after the trail expressed that they were happy to have become more involved in the Cultural Hiking Trail project.

4.3.3 ‘A Walk to Remember’ – The Cultural Hiking Trail 2006

From May 15 to May 19, 2006, Teemacane Trust hosted 25 Canadian and 3 UB students from WUSC for the Cultural Hiking Trail.⁵⁶ Coming all the way from Gaborone to Shakawe to do a four days Cultural Hiking Trail was according to the student supervisor, a good way for both the Canadians and the UB students see, learn and experience more of the country and its cultural diversity and people. One of the UB students told me that she was so excited about walking this trail, because she had never been this far up north.

Day One: WUSC arrived in the afternoon a day before the Trail started. Teemacane Team had arranged a short briefing to introduce the students to the organisation and its work, to give some practical information about the Trail and to have the students share some of their expectations. After the briefing the students were served a traditional Botswana supper; fish from Mohembo fishing project, maize meal porridge (‘pap’), chicken and vegetable stew (‘shakalacka’). The following day they met at TOCaDI to pack and organise their luggage. Since I was going to walk the Trail together with the students, I joined their bus to the ferry at Mohembo West where the Trail starts. The Trust Team and the WUSC crew followed in the two patrol cars which were going to escort the group through the Trail. While waiting for the ferry to solve its technical problems (as usual...), the students were busy photographing the locals, the ferry and the many donkeys roaming along the riverside. They also bought local bakery products – ‘fat cakes’ – and soft drinks from the small shops run by local women at the ferry pier. The two Khwe guides from Kaputura, who were going to escort the students the first lap from Mohembo to Kaputura, had been waiting for since early morning. They were

⁵⁶ There were originally going to be another 25 students from UB walking the Trail. But due to a student strike at UB in March, the University had been closed and semester exams had been postponed.

nically dressed, in shirts and suit jackets. Although only one of them, the youngest, spoke English, did not stop the student from trying to interact and ask questions. Looking at the event from a distance must have been quite a view; around thirty white people parading the main road, taking photos of traditional houses, animals and waving and greeting the people who had gathered to watch the crowd.

After approximately four hours of walk the group arrived in Kaputura where the first campsite was located. The village children came running to see the students, who seemed to be just as excited, handing out balloons and playing games. The whole group; students, VTCs', the Trust Team and I worked together to prepare food and set up tents. Later in the evening, the villagers made a huge fire to lighten up the campsite for the Khwe cultural performers. They had prepared a complete show with traditional Khwe music, dance, game playing and story telling. The students sat down around the fire, and when the music and dancing started, villagers also came over and joined the students. I stood outside the circle together with some of the villagers, having a good position to watch the show, but also to observe the students and the villagers watching the performance. One of the villagers said that many of them had come because they were curious to know how the students liked the performance: *"We hope that the students will see our culture and learn who we [the Khwe] are and how we live our life. And when they leave, they will tell their people about us, so that they also can learn about us"*.

The original plan was to arrange a one hour cultural performance, but the show carried on for hours. The Team therefore found it necessary to cancel the story telling session because it was getting late and they thought that the students needed to rest. This decision was not well received by the VTC. As I understood it, there were two reasons for this; story telling is a highly respected activity among the San, and second, the story teller would not receive his trail payment. Hambukushu story telling at Sekondomboro campsite the next day was also cancelled, but in that case the artist did not show up.

Day two: The first lap of the second day was through the bush from Kaputura to Xakao. While walking, the Khwe guides explained the history of the area and showed the students various edible plants, roots and berries which the Khwe use(d) as medicine or food. As much as the students seemed to enjoy this, after three hours of walking through the bush in the midday sun, the conversation topic changed from the beauty of the surroundings to what they were going to eat when they got back home. However, after having a lunch in Xakao, their spirit raised. During lunch I got to ask the students what they thought about last night's cultural performance in Kaputura. They said that they really enjoyed it, especially the music

and game playing, and that it was fun that the villagers had asked them to perform a Canadian song as well. One of the UB students said that the San culture is very different from the other cultures in Botswana; that they had preserved their culture in a more traditional form.

The last leg of that day's hike was originally planned to go from Xakao, along the riverside and end up at the river campsite in Sekondomboro. But because the first distance was so tiring, the Team directed the Xakao guides to take the students along the main road instead. The plot used as a campsite at Sekondomboro was not the plot that Teemacane initially applied for. However, the Trust Coordinator and I talked with the Sekondomboro VTC when preparing the Trail, and received permission to use this other plot as a campsite. The Hambukushu had this year had enough time to arrange a dance and drum group to perform for the students. Like Kaputura, the villagers also came to watch the performance. After a while they also joined the performing dancers, and soon everyone, including the students, was dancing.

Day three: Learning from yesterday's experience, we started walking much earlier to avoid the midday heat. The last leg was from Sekondomboro via Teemacane's field office in Ngarange where the plan was to stop for lunch, before continuing to the final campsite at N/ôâxom. Arriving at the Ngarange, the office house was locked. During the preparation I got the impression that the Trust Coordinator had hired people to clean and prepare the office for the visitors. What happened to this plan, if ever there was one, I do not know, but instead of waiting for the patrol car and the Coordinator, the WUSC crew and the students decided to carry on to N/ôâxom and have their lunch there. On the way some of the students and I made a stop at a small bakery ('The Best Bakery'). When paying for groceries, the shop-keeper did not have enough change, and so the students said that she could keep the change. Out of the shop the students started to discuss if giving the shop-keeper the change had been the right thing. They asked one of the Team workers, who said that he in principle did not agree with their decision: *"She doesn't know your budget, and even though you have a lot of money in comparison to her, it does not mean that you are rich. We see a white face and we think you have money, it is the African way, but it only makes us dependent."*

The group arrived at N/ôâxom late in the afternoon. The Trust Coordinator and villagers from Ngarange and Xakao were already there getting ready the campsite. Since N/ôâxom is an important site for Teemacane Trust, especially for the //Anikhwe, the idea was to have the //Anikhwe tell the students the history of the area and show them the place of the traditional Rain Makers. Unfortunately, this did not happen, for reasons unknown to me. Nevertheless, the students were tired and seemed to enjoy just spending the last evening

around the fire relaxing and enjoying the beauty of the area: “*N/ôâxom is the perfect place to end this hike*” one of them said. Next morning the students packed, and the campsite was tidied up. Teemacane had not made any arrangements for transport back to TOCaDI. The WUSC crew had therefore contacted ‘Bana Ba Metsi’ – a private school for boys located close to N/ôâxom – who drove the students back to the ferry in on of the school’s trucks. Back at TOCaDI the students got the chance to buy baskets from the basket project, produced in some of the villages they had visited. Happy about this however, one of them expressed that he would rather have spent his money in the villages directly, because then he would be sure that it would benefit the basket producer. WUSC left Shakawe the following morning, and headed for Kuru’s branch in D’kar.

4.3.4 Positioning in the field – ‘Betwixt and Between’

The way the anthropologist position herself in the field and the role she ascribes or is ascribed by others, will affect the range or ‘type’ of data she obtained. Classifying my own research strategy, it would probably fall within what Spradley calls ‘Active Participation’: “The active participant seeks to do what other people are doing, not merely to get acceptance, but to more fully learn the cultural rules for behaviour” (1980:60). He also points out that even though participation allows one to experience an event directly, the anthropologist can hardly ever become a complete participant in a social situation, even though she might feel like one...

Returning from Botswana and getting my fieldwork at a distance, I have made some reflections regarding my participatory fieldwork approach, especially in relation to my position and role in Teemacane Trust and the Cultural Hiking Trail. As mentioned, I wanted to walk the Hiking Trail together with the students, both to experience the Trail myself and to observe how the students experienced and talked about it. In this sense, I had deliberately positioned myself as an ‘insider’ with the students/tourists to observe the Trail and the work of the Trust from the *outside*. Although trying to take on specific roles as a methodological strategy, I do not think I was ever fully in control, or even aware, of my roles or positions. The reason is that one’s social roles or positions also are ascribed by the others; the students, the villagers and the Team. On the one side the students and the villagers recognised me as a Teemacane ‘insider’ – for instance the students asked me about the Trail history and the people, and the VTC contacted me regarding Trail practicalities. On the other side however, the Trust Team treated me as one of their guest, like WUSC. I was for instance told to eat supper together with the students, while they waited. To make it even more complex and confusing; working closely with the Team and the VTC, and putting my effort into the Hiking

Trail, I had somewhat subconsciously turned myself into a member of Teemacane Trust. My feeling of being a Trust ‘insider’ is expressed in my field notes or ‘the Hiking Trail Debriefing Report’ where I write: “*We* [Teemacane Trust] should instead (...), Next time *we* should... It is better for *us*... etc.” So at the end of the day I was *both* a ‘tourist’ *and* a ‘Trust member’, or rather, I was *both* ‘insider’ *and* ‘outsider’ simultaneously, positioned somewhere ‘betwixt and between’. I was, in short, a participant observer. My ambiguous, flexible, but not always controllable positions have, as I see it, given me access to a two-sided perspective – the ‘tourists’ and the ‘host’ – from where to understand and analyse the Cultural Hiking Trail. It has at the same time given me an experience of how fieldwork in addition to being a practical and intellectual exercise, is very much a personal and emotional encounter, where one by getting close to and involved in the lives of ones informants, might find it difficult not to feel as if one was one of ‘the Others’.

5. OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM

The community development strategy proposed for N/ôâxom in Teemacane Trust's management and development plan is based on the following understanding of the situation in, and the capacity of, the Trust communities:

The communities (...) that now are to be charged with the management and utilisation of NCOAGOM [N/ôâxom] have never before been involved in commercial operations of the kind suggested in this management plan; in fact some of the communities have very limited experience even with the cash economy. (...) there are many risks and challenges facing a community organisation, including issues of leadership, transparency, the division of (limited) job opportunities and market access. There are also often misunderstandings about where the funds are coming from, how much funding is available and who should benefit from the various activities. This management and development plan therefore needs to be based on a clear understanding of the processes that takes place in the community when people from the grassroots level are put together through accelerated development efforts (KDT 1999:44).

This shows considerable realism in anticipating challenges and possible problems when rural communities are to engage in tourism relations. In this chapter I will try to identify and discuss some of the processes and actors involved when rural (San) communities are taking up tourism as a means of socio-cultural and economic development. I will be discussing the difference between *intended* and *achieved* impacts from tourism on the Khwe San community of the Okavango Panhandle. I will furthermore argue that to fully explore the relationship between indigenous people, tourism and development, one should try to recognise the development opportunities provided by tourism, while at the same time analyse the challenges and constraints in internal community processes imported by external condition.

5.1 Capacity Building, Cultural Preservation and Improving Livelihood

A community-tourism project has more chance of success when based upon skills and attractions that are part of the traditional way-of-life of the project's participants. (SNV 2001:32)

A debriefing was done the last evening around the fireplace at N/ôâxom so that Teemacane and I could get some feedback on how the students had experienced the Cultural Hiking Trail. We wanted to know what they found interesting, frustrating and challenging during the Trail, what worked and what did not work that well. I sat together with the students, observing and taking notes (cf. Appendix VII), while the Team and the villagers from Ngarange and Xakao helping out at N/ôâxom campsite, sat at a distance, carefully listening. Based on the students' comments and advice, I later wrote a Cultural Hiking Trail *debriefing report* where I reviewed

and evaluated the Trail as a potential tourism venture and presented some of my reflections regarding the feedback. This report makes the basis of the present analysis.

5.1.1 'Low-budget travellers' in accordance with local capacity

Initially the WUSC students appeared anxious about the idea of spending four days in the bush under rather 'primitive' conditions with no bathroom facilities, limited access to water and no electricity. As the Trail moved forward it was interesting to observe how they gradually became more comfortable and even satisfied with the simplicity of life on the Trail. Some even engaged in further activities; dancing together with the villagers at the cultural show in Sekondomboro or sleeping outside around the fireplace together with some of the villagers and the Team. Their happiness for the 'realness' or 'genuineness' of the Trail was voiced during the debriefing; here are some of their comments (see Appendix VII as well): *"This has been a positive and true experience because I have learned so much about myself and the group"; "I wish that I could feel like I feel right now every day of my life; that I could appreciate everything I have around me and reflect on it all. I feel special to be here, and I appreciate to have had the chance to walk this trail"*. Some even requested a more 'true' experience, suggesting village 'home-stays', and more 'local food' to better understand 'the life in the villages'. The students clearly expressed that they appreciated the 'authenticity' of the Trail and that Teemacane should continue to keep it simple: *"It is much easier to fail if you set the standard and the expectation too high. So keep it simple so that Teemacane and the villagers can manage it by themselves,"* one of the students said.

According to le Roux (1998:9), no project should start on a level above the capacity of its participants, because the moment one gets above people's ability, one loses transparency as well as effective ownership or responsibility of the project by the participants. Keeping the Hiking Trail 'simple' ('low-end') – having campsites, traditional entertainment and the Panhandle environment as the main elements – is first of all in accordance with local capacity and resources, and secondly, it may reduce the need for costly operational input and dependency upon outside expertise and capital investment (cf. 'empowerment' in 3.2.1). Hence, the more the Trust villages can do by, and for, themselves, the more likely it is that the Hiking Trail can turn into a self-sustained community-owned tourism project through which they can form and control their own development process; in other words, create 'development from within'.

Running the Hiking Trail as a low-end business will set a standard for which *tourist category* (see Cohen 1988; 1989; Errington & Gewertz 1991) Teemacane is soliciting, or

rather, which category they are capable of hosting without outside resources. As opposed to the ‘upmarket tourists’ usually visiting Okavango area, the WUSC students are to be defined as ‘*low-budget travellers*’; rather flexible, adaptable, and without too high or predetermined demands in terms of fixed schedules and structures, accommodation, food, infrastructures, and the like. A possible example of contrast is the ‘charity walk’ with senior representatives from the Government and the private sector, which Teemacane helped set up in 2005. The Trust Team Leader in charge of the walk, told me that half-way they almost cancelled the Trail because the tourists had brought too much equipment, like a huge water tank carried by a tar-road vehicle⁵⁷ to supply the tourists with *clean* water along the way. Excessive work put down by the Trust Team to satisfy the tourists, had as I understood, not made the economic payment worth the effort. I also got the impression that the villagers had been placed somewhat on the sideline, observing the Team trying to get the tourist off the Trail unharmed. Not having attended the charity walk, it is difficult to define to which tourist category they belong. However, given the Team Leader’s positive response regarding the ease of hosting WUSC, I assume that the senior representatives fall within a different category. The point of differentiating between tourist is that it seems like different types or categories have different requests and motivations for engaging in tourism (Silver 1993), and thus (im)posing different demands, expectations and standards on tourism relations. Based on this I would like to argue that tourism projects like the Cultural Hiking Trail, should target low-budget tourists because their tourist ‘qualities’ – low demands, unprejudiced and conscious – enables the community to participate directly and build confidence in their own capability, which I perceive to be basic elements to generate a sustainable and empowering development process for the San.

5.1.2 Cultural preservation and recognition

As noted earlier, the negative impacts from tourism on indigenous people are much discussed in tourism literature. Less studied are the opportunities that tourism can provide in raising internal and external awareness of an indigenous population’s skills and aspirations.

I was told that the Khwe culture was dying when Teemacane was established. However, with the development of the Trust and the Trail project things had changed for the better. The recent introduction of tourism undertakings among San communities has made the San aware that their culture is a valuable social and economic asset worth fighting for (≠Oma & Thoma 2002:39). One of the Bugakhwe Trail guides said that having tourists coming to experience their culture had forced them to start remembering and practising their culture

⁵⁷ The only viable means of transportation at the poorly maintained gravel roads at the eastern panhandle side, or the sandy pathways through the bush to the Trail villages, are 4x4.

again (cf. cultural revitalisation). Moreover, performing for tourists had also made the children more interested in their San heritage. As one of my interpreters pointed out, San children leave for boarding school when they are very young. In this Tswana regulated environment there is not much room for cultural diversity, thus making the children (wanting) to forget their San background. The Manager of *Dq̄e Qare Game Farm* – a KFO supported CBT project for the Naro San communities of D’kar (see 6.2.1) – said that he thinks that a decisive factor for the survival of the San people is to what extent one is able to involve the younger generation in tourism: “*having one foot in the modern world, San youths can ease the San people’s transformation process by bridging the traditional and the modern.*” #Oma and Thoma (2002:40) show how San youths have become more prepared to learn about San traditions and skills as the ability to identify animal tracks, knowledge about edible bush food and the use of medicine plants may enable them to generate income. Middle-aged and elderly San community members have a vast knowledge of these skills, yet in the eyes of society they are not highly ranked or perceived as managers of certified knowledge. But marketing such skills through tourism may raise the appreciation of elderly community members as the teachers of San traditions, while at the same time increasing the recognition of San culture and traditional knowledge in the encompassing society. M. Taylor also stress that community-based tourism enterprises, if undertaken on their own terms, can provide not only economic benefits, but also “increased visibility and the expression and reformulation of [San] history and identity in public arenas” (2000:281).

In sum, experiencing that tourists appreciate and recognise their cultural heritage, for instance by walking a Cultural Hiking Trail, and even are willing to pay to see and learn about their indigenous traditions, might help stimulate the San people’s self-esteem and pride, and further motivate them to practice, preserve and promote a culture which generally has not been highly valued in Botswana. Following this it becomes clear that San development cannot be understood and approached as if it is only an issue of material poverty – which is how GoB defines their situation. Rather, it must be understood in relation to their impoverished position within Botswana society, and therefore approached through an effort to ‘restore their basic human capabilities and freedoms’ (cf. 3.2.1)

5.1.3 Income and employment opportunities based on existing skills

Poor education combined with rural localisation makes the possibility for cash earning and employment very limited for people in the Panhandle area. Although recognising the challenges when rural communities are taking up tourism, tourism projects like the Hiking

Trail do at least offer some degree of income and employment opportunities. Training in basic business and organisation skills, and an introduction to the tourism concept, has to be an important part of the process of setting up a community business (SNV 2001). According to Sammy's documents – the volunteer helping set up the Hiking Trail – the Trail communities received some training during the implementation phase. But in addition to build the project on 'new' capacity obtained through for instance village workshops, the Trail documents also show that Teemacane decided to develop the project on *existing* local capacity; that is, utilising skills, knowledge and the attractions of the people and the community itself as the main product sold to the tourists. This has created some local employment and monetary earnings, like for instance the cultural entertainers, the guides, the cooks and the VTC, who benefited economically directly from the Trail. At the same time, the Trail also generated some economic benefits for adjacent villages and people not directly involved; for instance the vendors at the ferry, 'the Best Bakery' or the TOCaDI basket weavers.⁵⁸ In this way the monetary profit generated, even if it is small amounts, stays within the communities. According to Cohen (1984:384f), where small-scale, locally owned, lower standard, 'craft' tourism is slowly introduced into a less-developed context, gross earnings may be smaller, but a greater percentage will be locally retained and there will be fewer disruptive effects. There is also a better chance that 'linkages' with the local economy will be established. However, he further points out that in the absence of sufficient local power, capital, technical and entrepreneurial resources, the drive such low-end tourism provides may not be sufficient to sustain the development.

It may seem ironic that selling culture to tourists can have a positive impact on San culture revival and development process. But as the Cultural Hiking Trail project illustrates, if tourism is developed in accordance with the local capacity, existing skills and resources, there is first of all generated a need for local employment – i.e. local participation, and secondly, the economic benefits goes directly back to locals – i.e. no economic 'leakage' to external tourism actors. This may furthermore enable the community to maintain some sense of control over their (economic) development process. With this in mind I like to argue that local (San) communities may benefit more from having some income and employment opportunities in their own right, then from having outsiders helping them generate maximum economic profit.

⁵⁸ Cf. the concept of '*Tourism Multiplier Effect*': Tourism does not only create jobs in the tertiary sector, it also encourages growth in the primary and secondary sectors of industry. This is known as the multiplier effect which in its simplest form is how many times money spent by a tourist circulates through a country's economy. The multiplier effect continues until the money eventually 'leaks' from the economy through imports (<http://geographyfieldwork.com/TouristMultiplier.htm>)

Only a limited number of the Trust villagers received directly economic revenues from the Trail. Below I will discuss how the fact that the costs and benefits of tourism are not evenly distributed between locals, may lead to internal tension and interest conflicts. This may also affect the villagers' perception of ownership of projects, and thus also the project's lasting success.

5.2 Problems of Community Ownership

The problem is that we tell them [the Naro San at Dq̄e Qare Game Farm] that they are the owner of the Farm. Then they refuse to do as the Manager tells them, because they are the owners. Instead we have begun saying that it is their business, because a business needs a manager.

(The Coordinator of D'kar community Trust)

Cohen (1984:385) writes that on the level of internal local relations, tourism tends to loosen solidarities, increase individualisation and create stress and conflict within the community, which in turn generate pressure for greater formalisation of local life. On the other hand, it may also produce a reaction in the opposite direction – that is, strengthening group solidarity in the fact of intruding Others.

I sensed rather early that there was some kind of tension in Teemacane, especially within the Trust Team with whom I worked on a daily basis. One after the other the Team workers approach me with their concerns and stories on how their team partners were failing to do their job in accordance with their respective job descriptions; showing up late or not showing up at all, lacking ability or will to collaborate and communicate, not giving feedback to the Board and the villagers, criticising instead of giving advice, and so on. The tension became even more evident when trying to bring the Cultural Hiking Trail to a successful close. Instead of working together and communicating directly, I was used as a go-between; receiving and forwarding messages and trying to make sure that communication was flowing. Although the tension never escalated into a direct confrontation, at least not with me present, it was always just below the surface. I once asked the Chairman of the Teemacane Board how he perceived the situation within the Team. He said he feared that if the situation was not improving, the Team would end up 'killing' the Trust from the inside. Listening to his concern about Teemacane's future made me wonder how I could begin to understand and explain all the energy used on internal issues, while knowing that the very reason for establishing Teemacane was to bring together and empower the Khwe.

It was not until halfway through my fieldwork that the internal situation in Teemacane began to make sense. First of all, it probably took a month before I understood that Teemacane Trust represents not only one, but two San groups – the //Anikhwe and the

Bugakhwe (see 1.2.2). Furthermore, expressing my concerns about the Team to the previous TOCaDI coordinator, I learned that the internal tension could perhaps be understood as an extended historical relationship between the San groups, exposed today within Teemacane Trust. Learning this, I was curious to know how the Team and the TOCaDI staff perceived the relationship between the Khwe groups. I asked one of the Trust advisors: *“the //Anikhwe was the initiators of Teemacane and it is of high cultural value to them. But the problem is that they think they own the Trust [alone], and therefore use it according to this idea...The Bugakhwe is left out, not thinking that they benefit much”*. I also contacted one of TOCaDI's previous volunteers who helped Teemacane develop the Cultural Hiking Trail. Here is a quote from her e-mail:

On conflict...I found that the Anikhwe and Bugakhwe stuck together in the face of other more dominant tribes and indeed felt connected by language and custom, but there was a sense of difference between them and in particular between the villages involved in Teemacane. I am not sure how the trail is working right now, but at that time it was decided to have three different 'cultural campsites' to highlight Bugakhwe, //Anikhwe and other tribe culture. The conflict was more in terms of who would be providing services and thus benefiting from tourism. Members of Teemacane (in particular the Board) and many of the younger people knew that there are only a limited number of jobs from tourism so that the distribution of the money would have to be worked out in detail and very transparently to be fair (Sammy 2006, reproduced with permission).

Another Trust associate said that the people are very good at cooperating when there is nothing at stake, but as soon as profit is seen they start fighting. I wanted to know why nobody in Teemacane or TOCaDI had mentioned this situation explicitly. When I asked, they said that this was not 'official information', so they did not think it would be of any interest. As far as I understood my informants, the tension is an expression of a rather widespread competition over status, pride and power positions within the San Khwe community and thus also within Teemacane Trust. In time, it also became apparent how the tension pervaded the whole Trust organisation; from the Team at TOCaDI, to the Board of Trustees and the affiliated villages.

5.2.1 Managing Ownership

Although it was said that Teemacane Trust and its community projects were owned by the Trust villagers to benefit the whole Trust community, experiencing and observing an environment of rising tension, makes me question to what extent the villagers felt ownership to the Trail project and the Trust. The discontent regarding the Trail payment in Kaputura is a case in point: Given that it was supposed to be their tourism business, I tried to explain to the

Kaputura VTC that if they wanted tourists to keep coming, they could not increase the Trail prices too much, only thinking about this year's profit. One of the Team workers said that the villagers' discontent stemmed from a misconception of what the Trail project is all about. Another case is the 'lost' thatching grass money; a symptom of the unfortunate fact that many community trusts in Botswana struggle with mismanagement of funds and lack of accountability and transparency. Instead of saving and reinvesting project profits, the case is sometimes that the money disappears into private pockets, turning 'everyone's businesses' into a 'one-man's business'. If one is to make sense of, and explain, cases like these, I think it is important to try and understand how community members (mis)perceive the concept of 'ownership' – for instance, what the villagers expected the Cultural Hiking Trail to bring, especially in terms of economic profit.

The San communities are known for their *egalitarian* social structure. When a community enters into a development project, all its members expect to benefit from it equally. However, if it right from the beginning is an apparent imbalance in income and benefits, the whole effort is in danger of being jeopardised by broken relationships and jealousy (le Roux 1998). Therefore, 'unnatural' inequality that is created between community members makes it very difficult to manage the organisation in a co-operative way through which community ownership can emerge. Understanding problems of community ownership as specific cultural problem – i.e. the egalitarian structure – is only one side of the case. One should also look at how project schemes, ideologies and structures – project descriptions, plans and policies – are introduced to, and implemented in, the communities supposedly owning the project. For instance, how the Hiking Trail project was launched in the Trail villages; “*We told them that it was a project that would belong to them and benefit them economically.*”

The villagers expressed disappointment because the Hiking Trail was not developing according to the initial plan; e.g. improving the campsites, building storehouses, etc. Discussing the issue of ownership with Dr. Magole, research fellow at Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC) in Maun, she said that as a project facilitator, one needs to make sure that the communities *understand* what is *realistic* to expect from a certain project; for instance, explain how the project at first can help the community at large (e.g. improve infrastructure, schools, medical clinics, etc.), but in the short run it might not benefit individual households directly. le Roux (1998:13) points out that the San will not take ownership or responsibility for a project if they do not feel that they understand it or have capacity to participate. Hence, idealistic ideas of what a community project or a community

organisation will bring in terms of socio-economic development may often create unrealistic expectations and unmanageable demands amongst community members.⁵⁹ This will in turn increase the chance for disappointment and tension, but also dependency and lack of transparency and accountability as internal expectations and external demands moves the project or the organisation beyond the capacity of the community members. In short, a central challenge when trying to build and maintain ‘true’ community ownership is the ideological or cultural gap often found between the project implementers/facilitators and the intended beneficiaries – the project owners (see M. Taylor 2000).

5.2.2 Building ownership through participation

In order to bridge the ideological gap one needs to make room for cultural understanding and proper communication so that all parts are ‘on board’. The argument is that if the community members (really) understand the project, they are more able to participate on their own terms, and only through participation can a deep-rooted feeling of ownership emerge. The challenge, however, is how to achieve this community understanding.

Saugestad (2001:219) points out that the transition which San communities are going through requires new or different organisation structures: To accommodate bureaucratic requirements, the structures set up today reflect the needs of majority society more than local needs. This has caused visible symptoms of internal organisation strains like discussed above: problems of ownership, jealousy, dependency, lack of transparency, and issues of leadership. In relation to leaderships, the San are struggling to get used to the fact that they must delegate responsibility to leaders, and that leaders can make some decisions on behalf of the group or the community (le Roux 1998:13). This is not to say that the San do not have proper leadership, but their form of leadership does not allow one person to stand out too much (cf. Lee 2003). From the outside it therefore appears as if the San do not have leadership, when in fact they manage their affairs efficiently through community *consensus*. Such a dynamic leadership structure allows a decision making process where each villager’s viewpoint counts. In the reformulation of organisation structures, one should therefore try to find ways to incorporate consensus-making, and in this way enable people to participate as whole villages, rather than just the village committees (Saugestad 2001:219).⁶⁰ Transforming representation through committees to direct community participation, one may reduce problems of poor

⁵⁹ The same goes for governmental policies and programmes, like CBNRM, where communities most often only are presented with the intended ideal, without learning the possible costs, challenges and constraints.

⁶⁰ le Roux (1998:26) note that “culturally, it is unacceptable for a committee of a few people to manage the finances and other development issues on behalf of the whole village(...) the community will immediately distrust all activities and will refuse to take responsibility for its own future.

communication, misunderstanding and unrealistic expectation (e.g. regarding Trail payment and individual benefits), and moreover, make the community feel responsibility for their community business, thus decreasing the chance of power misuse and economic mismanagement as more people claim transparency. In general, ‘ownership’ cannot be created by telling someone that they are the owner. Rather, should be perceived and approached as something ‘built’ through processes of symmetrical relations and direct participation.

I have in this section tried to explain the problems of community ownership and participation by looking at *internal* community and organisation relations. In what follows, I will discuss this as an *external* issue by looking at the relationship between Governmental policies, community-based tourism, and the prospect of reproduction of asymmetrical relations and hegemonic structures.

5.3 Botswana’s Policy Framework – Opportunity or Constraint?

The Trail villagers said that the Teemacane Team used to inform regularly about the Hiking Trail project, and Sammy’s documents show that the villages had been involved in the planning and implementation phase. However, if participation and information used to work out rather well, why did it seem like the project had stagnated, only receiving attention a few weeks before, during and after a tourist visit? One possible explanation is that the project was hampered by the *land lease issue* (see 4.2.1). Having the lease can be seen as a sign of recognition and legitimation of the community project. But without it, Teemacane did not formally own the ‘means of production’, which appeared to have created uncertainty and lack of motivation to develop the Trail further.⁶¹ Teemacane and Itekeng’s letter to the Land Board can be perceived as an effort to oppose and change the situation – i.e. to challenge the Government’s definition of their land applications as tribal. Even so, it had to be carried out within the ‘dominant code of conduct’ – i.e. GoB’s policy framework and bureaucratic system.

In addition to the policy of ‘non-tribalism’, as a community project within the framework of CBNRM, the Cultural Hiking Trail is also required to adjust to various, even opposing, policy programs. I will discuss how fundamental contradictions within the very bureaucratic structures and governmental policies set up to promote community participation in tourism, may have negative effects on San communities trying to approach development through tourism.

⁶¹ The aspect of the San owning land contributes to higher self-esteem, and is important issue on their ethno-political agenda (SNV 2001:41). Bolaane et al (2006:22) points to how community participation without community ownership of the means of production is not meaningful (see also Magole & Magole 2005).

5.3.1 Compromising ownership for 'high-value'?

As argued, the opportunities with tourism related development efforts can be improved if the community members participate directly and own the means of production. Although GoB is encouraging greater community participation and local resource management through CBNRM, they are at the same time *also* promoting upmarket, high-value tourism (GoB 1990). I find a logical inconsistency between these two policy programmes – ‘high capital and demands’ *and* ‘low capacity participation’. Given this, how are these policy programmes reconciled in practice – how is CBNRM implemented?

There is little doubt that the intention behind the Botswana tourism policy of ‘low-volume – high-value’ is good – i.e. ‘natural conservation’ and ‘economic sustainability’. However, in practice it presents real challenges, if not constraints, for rural communities and their tourism projects: To uphold a business, there has to be a continuous market demand for the product at hand; in Teemacane’s case, ‘low-end tourism’. The current tourism policy implies that the majority of tourists coming to Botswana are upmarket tourists with money to spend, but additionally high requests for standard and quality service. For rural (San) communities which lack business capacity and management skills as well as necessary capital and experience with tourism, to enter the Botswana tourism market they often have to join a private operator to compensate for their lack of social, cultural and economic capital (power). So in a local community context, the current tourism policy does in many ways make joint ventures the first, if not the only, options to get involved in tourism, which in most cases happens through the CBNRM programme (cf. 1.1.3).

According to M. Taylor (2000:239) CBNRM is, like much development policy in Botswana, based almost entirely on economic assumptions, “in which the value of the resources is rated according to their capitalising potential”. The official implementation of CBNRM has therefore pushed forward a very narrow development agenda based on two key aspects: the commercialisation of natural resources and the exploitation of its commercial value by private operators, for which the community receive royalties (ibid.:240). The outcome of trying to achieve ‘high-value’ and community participation simultaneously has therefore become the ‘*Joint Venture model*’ where communities ‘participate’ simply by sub-leasing their quotas to private operators who can match the tourism policy. The JV-model has been wholeheartedly endorsed and promoted by governmental officials at all levels. Take for instance the message given by Mr. Wazha Tema, Deputy Director Department of Tourism, at the Official opening of the Ngamiland CBNRM Forum in Maun 27.04.2006:

“I would like to appeal to all those who have been given tourism concessions and those who are about to be handed them to please leave your joint venture to run the business and pay what is due to you. There is no need for you again to interfere with the business once you have a joint venture partner.”

The Government's motivation for encouraging joint ventures is that it is expected to transfer management skills and entrepreneurship from the private to the local partner, who in time is supposed to be empowered to manage the resources sustainably and run the business themselves. However, experience from the JV-partnership system in the Okavango Delta has showed few examples of real collaboration and capacity building (Mbaiwa 2004:45). One of the main reasons for this is, as I see it, that one is trying to make two very different cultures or ideologies – a subsistence culture and capitalism – work together as if they were symmetrical. Without recognising basic power differences – capitalism defines the dominant code of conduct – and adapting the partnership structures accordingly, misunderstanding, conflicts and power asymmetry will always threaten to ruin the partnership. The Government's economic development agenda and the commercial interest of the private tourism sector have therefore in many ways imposed a 'hegemonic' CBNRM model which is difficult, if not impossible, for communities to oppose.

Even if some joint ventures offer local communities a lot of money for their hunting and land quotas, – i.e. provide opportunities for economic development – by selling their resource rights the community is also giving away power, control and ownership, and thus, the very opportunity for true sustainable development. Cohen (1984:384) writes;

The positive economic effects of tourism frequently fall significantly short of expectations or predictions (...) The development of a tourism industry often involved the penetration of outsiders, and both national and foreign outside financial interests. This process frequently leads to a loss of local control over the industry.” [Hence] (...) Tourism has the most serious dislocating effect, and yields the smallest relative benefits for locals when large-scale, high-standard facilities are rapidly introduced by outside developers into otherwise poorly developed areas; dependency rather than development, then results.

Instead of promoting rural participation, ownership and empowerment like the CBNRM ideology predicts, the hegemonic Joint Venture model has turned local communities into passive, dependent participants left in the periphery of the tourism sector – “safari operators have made local groups become labourers and land lords who are aware that money will come regardless of participation or performance” (Mbaiwa 2004:45).

5.3.2 An alternative 'counterhegemonic' approach to CBNRM

Bolaane (2004:414) points to how the San communities at Khwai and Mababe for a while resisted the Joint Venture model, indicating a profound distrust of the Government. The San feared that the model would not allow them greater autonomy and control over the productive use of their natural resources. Instead, they opted for an alternative model that could protect their interests as well as enable them to voice their concerns and aspirations. However, the Botswana Government was not willing to encourage a different CBNRM model.

According to KFO Annual Report (2005:59), TOCaDI is one of the few NGOs in Botswana implementing CBNRM as closely as possible to its guiding principles. Although referring to these guiding principles in management plans and annual reports may easily be only a rhetorical move to please outside donors and governmental officials, I will argue that the Cultural Hiking Trail can live up to these principles; not only on paper. In accordance with the JV-model, the Land Board allocates land resources to a community or its respective trust on the condition that the proposed land use is 'commercially viable' (M. Taylor 2000; Sammy 2004). The Cultural Hiking Trail can be defined as a commercial project with potentials. Teemacane did also collaborate with 'Audi Camp' during the first years of the Trail operation, and the Trust management plan presents two possible types of joint venture for Teemacane (see KDT 1999:47). However, as the Cultural Hiking Trail is operated today, it does *not conform* to the JV-model of CBNRM. Instead, Teemacane is collaborating with TOCaDI – a partner that is not 'in it for the money' – and runs the Trail *as* a community-based business, paradoxically, without 'owning' the natural resources. This alternative, and maybe even counterhegemonic, approach to CBNRM has together with the land lease issue – ironically enough – kept the Trail project simple and prevented it from developing too quickly. Instead of being told at the annual general meeting how much money they have earned from their joint venture, the Teemacane villages have by running the business themselves, had the chance to try and fail, and actually experiencing themselves what CBNRM in fact will bring of development opportunities and constraints. This is how responsible ownership is created; one participates and builds one's business in 'blood sweat and tears'.

While several community trusts in Botswana have implemented CBNRM according to the Government supported Joint Venture model, Teemacane Trust has somewhat *unintentionally* countered it by not being able to adapt to it: They do not yet have a land lease, and the Trail is a low-budget tourism concept not highly requested amongst the private tour operators in the Delta. Even if a 'non-venture' approach probably reduces the economic profitability of the Hiking Trail, the opportunity for community participation, control and

capacity building may, however, promise better prospects for true sustainable development and empowerment, than if money was simply ‘falling from the sky’. In the following chapter I will continue to discuss the problems and prospects of community-based tourism development by approaching and analysing it within a more theoretical framework. I will argue that through an alternative implementation model of CBNRM (i.e. an alternative tourism development model) San tourism projects like the Hiking Trail does not have to become one in a row of cultural tourism ventures where the locals are simply ‘staged’ authentic objects for tourist’s consumption. The San can also be modern tourism producers in their own rights.

6. CULTURAL COMMERCIALISATION AND DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF ‘AUTHENTICITY’ – A BOTSWANA CONTEXT

(...) the authentic otherness of people like the Bushmen does not exist by itself, but is a sign relationship. It must be semiotically marked (and marketed) by means of indicators that it is “off the beaten track” a “scarce resource” on the brink of disappearing, and the like. (Garland & Gordon 1999:271)

In the proposition for physical facilities for the Cultural Hiking Trail, the Teemacane management plan suggests that:

A traditional //Anikhwe village will be constructed from natural materials and decorated with *authentic traditional* artefacts. *Western consumer-related* items will be avoided so as to enhance the traditional atmosphere of the village (...) Grass huts similar to those constructed in the past by Bugakhwe in the wet-season as part of their traditional territories, will be of particular aesthetic interest to tourists familiar with the more *popular image of “traditional bushmen”*(KDT 1999:42f, my emphasis).

The foundation of the Cultural Hiking Trail project, both in practical and symbolic terms, was unquestionably the traditional ‘authentic’ culture of the Khwe San (and the Hambukushu). However, considering that there was only a selection of Khwe cultural elements presented to the tourists – e.g. traditional dance, music, medicine plants and food gathering – I find it interesting to ask, *who* decide, and *how* is it decided, what elements or symbols that are to represent ‘the authentic Khwe culture’? And furthermore, how does this presentation accord with the ‘real’ Khwe culture – their everyday life today? These are some of the questions addressed in this chapter. More generally, I will discuss the ambiguity, usefulness and power of the concept of ‘authenticity’, especially in tourism relations where ‘the authentic’ often is defined and marketed as if there was a true, stable and objective standard upon which tourists’ experiences could be determined authentic.

6.1 Host Expectations about Tourist’s Quest for Authenticity

These [tourist] Guides, and other commercial device like them, serves to define or prefabricate what an authentic bushman looks like. What such representations mean to tourists is another matter. (Garland & Gordon 1999:271)

The villagers and the Team often talked about how previous tourist groups enjoyed the cultural elements in the Hiking Trail. At the same time they expressed concern about not having the means – the money or a hunting licence – to make and wear traditional leather clothes for the tourists, like the Naro San did when performing at Dq̄e Qare Game Farm or at

the Kuru Dance Festival.⁶² The chief's son in Kaputura said: "...when tourists see us perform our traditional dance in modern clothes they do not understand, and will ask why we are not showing our culture..." (cf. 4.3.1). Conscious about their concern, I asked the WUSC students how they felt about seeing the dancers in 'modern clothes': "We understand that this is how they live today...This is their culture now. [So] it doesn't matter, the performance was great anyway", one of them said. After the Trail, Teemacane Team arranged a meeting where I was to present the Hiking Trail debriefing report to the Board. I had also brought a small Cultural Hiking Trail marketing brochure, which Karine Rousset and I had composed (see Appendix VI). To my surprise, and disappointment, the brochure was not well received. The Vice Chair pointed to the picture of the Bugakhwe dancers and said "tourists don't like that". I did not understand what he was referring to and asked what he thought that tourist would not like. He said it was not good that I had used a picture of a Khwe dancer wearing jeans shorts, because when tourists saw that, they would not be interested in the Trail...

The Vice Chair's statement, but also the quote from the Trust management plan above, communicates something about the *hosts' perception* of what *tourists perceive* as authentic – i.e. what tourists quest for (cf. MacCannell 1999) – which in this case was assumed to be the opposite of the 'modern' and western consume-related. Given the feedback from the WUSC students (see Appendix VII), the modern clothes of the Bugakhwe dancer had not damned their tourism pilgrimage to inauthenticity. On the contrary, they stressed that the Trail was enjoyable exactly because it was authentic: it was the 'real' world, 'simple' and 'raw', that is, it was not 'staged authenticity'. To explain this discrepancy – i.e. between what the Vice Chair ('the host') expect the students ('the tourists') to quest for, and what they actually experience as authenticity – one needs to clarify and discuss the different conceptions or meanings of authenticity in tourist experiences (cf. Wang 1999). I will follow MacCannell's 'authenticity-seeking' model and argue that tourism in many ways is "a search for authenticity of experience". However, what 'authenticity' imply is not predefined or objective. Instead I will try to show how it is conceived in different terms by different actors – a social symbolic (power) construct, or maybe even an individual subjective feeling of being in touch with one's true self.

6.1.1 'Objective authenticity' – a symbolic power construct

To understand the Vice Chair's worry about cultural inauthenticity, one needs to explore the way in which the tourism producers, like for instance travel agents, draw upon a small set of

⁶² The Kuru Dance Festival is held in D'kar annually. It brings together dance groups from all over southern Africa to perform. Over the last years it has also become a famous tourist attraction, yearly increasing in number.

cultural markers and further elaborate upon them to provide a mental network through which they become symbols of authenticity (Adams 1984).⁶³ Garland and Gordon (1999:271) show that in Namibia this sort of authenticity marketing is typically done by advertising stereotypic images of the San, or the Bushmen, as exotic, primitive Others through travel brochures, films, guidebooks, postcards, and the like. Within a Botswana context however, wildlife is the main tourism attraction, thus making San culture less desirable for tourism producers. For instance, out of thirty tourist brochures which I collected at various tour operators and booking agencies in Maun, San cultural elements, images and activities (e.g. ‘bush-walks’, cultural villages, etc.), were only found in five of the brochures. All but one of them – the Gudigwa Camp⁶⁴ – belonged to tour operators *outside* the ‘upmarket’ Delta area. The remaining four were located in Ghanzi district (see next chapter). So instead of arguing that the Vice Chair’s expectation stemmed from a direct exposure to the tourist Bushman image, I would rather suggest that it developed indirectly: I noticed how the Naro San from D’kar was often referred to in positive terms when talking about San cultural performance; they had nice traditional clothes and their dance performance always became a medallist at Dance Festivals. In other words, fulfilling the popular Bushman image, the Naro were seen – by the Khwe – to successfully satisfy the tourist quest for authenticity. Directly or indirectly exposed, the point is that the tourism market by defining the authentic in tourism productions, sets some *absolute* and *objective* criteria that local tourism producers (think they) have to adjust to, to attract tourists. So when the Vice Chair evaluated the authenticity of the Bugakhwe dancer – although in comparison to the Naro San – the conclusion seemed to be that the Hiking Trail, as it was portrayed through the marketing brochure, would not meet the tourists’ quest for authenticity.

Such ‘objective’ view on authenticity found in much tourism production corresponds well with MacCannell’s authenticity perspective: In his ‘museum-linked’ usage of the term an object is defined as authentic if it is *an original* – like original art work. It follows that an authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the object as authentic – i.e. an original⁶⁵ (Wang 1999:351). So even if the tourist think or feel that he/she has an authentic experience, it can still be judged inauthentic – ‘just another front stage’ (cf. 3.3.1) – according to the objective criteria. The problem with applying this perspective on an empirical context is that it

⁶³ Silver (1993:302) argue that travel literature seeks to portray indigenous people as authentic in order to cater to certain images in Western consciousness of the Other.

⁶⁴ Gudigwa Camp was established as an ‘up-market’ joint venture between the Bugakhwe in Gudigwa, OWS and Conservation International (CI). However, it is not operating at the moment for reasons discussed in this thesis (cf. 5.2/3).

⁶⁵ Cultural objects such as art, dress, housing, festivals, rituals, skills, etc. should for instance be defined as authentic or inauthentic in terms of the criterion of whether they are made or enacted in accordance to local custom or tradition.

simplifies the complex nature of authenticity in tourist experiences by not including the possibility that people might conceive and experience authenticity differently. Wang (1999:353) writes:

That which is judged as inauthentic or staged authenticity by experts, intellectuals, or elite may be experienced as authentic and real from an emic [peoples'] perspective – this may be the very way that mass tourists experience authenticity.

In contrast to MacChannell, it has therefore been suggested to approach 'authenticity' as a social, symbolic or ideological *construct*, which in itself has no predefined, objective content (Bruner 1994; Cohen 1988; Garland & Gordon 1999; Silver 1993).⁶⁶ In this sense, cultural objects and attractions are judged as authentic *not* because they are originals, but because they from a personal point of view are perceived as signs or symbols of the authentic (Cohen 1988). Tourism is thus still about the quest for authenticity, but what tourists search for is 'symbolic authenticity', which is (only) the result of social constructions. As such, authenticity is in the eye of the beholder and its social connotations are not given, but a subject to discourse, interpretations, and furthermore, *power* and *control*. As Bruner (1994:408) puts it:

“No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history”.

By focusing on authenticity as a social and symbolic construction which, for instance, travel agents produce on the basis of their 'ideological predominance', one can illuminate how a doxic or rather symbolic power is inherent in tourism relations. A case in point is the Gudigwa project (Magole & Magole 2005; Mbaiwa and Rantsudu 2003): Lacking the power and capital to meet the authenticity standard of upmarket tourism and tourists, the San community in Gudigwa was required to joint ventures with OWS who was able to adjust to the standard both in terms of management and marketing.

In sum, because tourism encounters take place within an asymmetrical context, locals are unable to affect how images of authenticity are constructed and marketed. Instead they are forced to present themselves, and be presented by others, through the tourism industry's definition of authenticity. In this sense, 'objective authenticity' – i.e. the primitive Bushman –

⁶⁶ This is a *constructivist approach* to authenticity. Although there is no space here for further elaboration on the perspective of 'constructivism', the basic assumption is that there pre-exist no real world independent of human interpretations and symbolic constructions. Reality is thus best seen as *one* version of reality; pluralistic, plastic and contextual (re)defined (see for instance Bruner 1994).

sold to tourists becomes a symbolic power construct, which in a context of San tourism projects might sustain social marginalisation and power asymmetry.

I recognise the explanatory value of a constructivist perspective on authenticity – especially in relation defined by symbolic power. But given that the WUSC student seemed rather unconcerned and moreover, unfamiliar, with the symbolic Bushman image, I find the perspective insufficient when trying to explain their authentic Hiking Trail experience. Instead, I will follow Wang (1999), and suggest ‘*existential authenticity*’ as an alternative approach to authenticity in tourist experiences.

6.1.2 Existential authenticity

In the article “Rethinking authenticity in tourism experiences” Wang (1999) questions the usefulness and validity of the conventional conceptualisation of authenticity in (post)modern tourism relations. But instead of abandoning the concept altogether, like the postmodernists,⁶⁷ Wang introduces ‘existential authenticity’ as an analytical option. To be able to rethink the meaning of authenticity, one first needs to differentiate tourism authenticity into two separate issues: that of ‘*tourist experiences*’ (i.e. authentic experiences) and that of ‘*toured objects*’ (ibid:351). While these are two different aspects of authenticity, the ‘objective’ and ‘constructive’ authenticity models, which both are ‘*object* focused models, confused them as one – i.e. the experience is authentic if the toured object is, or symbolise, authenticity. Through an existential authenticity perspective one does instead focus on how ‘existential experiences’ involve personal or intersubjective feelings *activated by* the tourism activity – i.e. ‘*activity*’ or ‘*practice*’ focused. Through tourism activities, like for instance the Cultural Hiking Trail, the tourists may feel more free, self-reflexive and in touch with the real world, than in their everyday life. This experience or feeling does not need to have anything to do with the objective or symbolic authenticity of the activity. Rather, it is generated by engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from everyday life routine (ibid.:352). Hence, existential authenticity becomes an experience or practice-based form of authenticity that refers to a potential *existential state of being* in which one is true to oneself – i.e. ‘one feels oneself authentic’.

The students’ participation in the dance performance in Sekondomboro can be used to demonstrate existential authenticity: Rather than merely being spectators of the Hambukushu dancers, the students joined in the event. Wang (1999:359) quote Y.P. Daniel who has studied the tourism rumba dance performance in Cuba:

⁶⁷ Postmodernism is not a single, unified approach. However, in relation to the issue of authenticity in tourism, the approach is characterised by its deconstruction of authenticity.

“As performing dancers, tourists access the magical world of liminality which offers spiritual and aesthetic nourishment. Tourism, in the moment of dance performance, opens the door to a liminal world that gives relief from day-to-day, ordinary tension, and for Cuban dancers, and tourists particularly, permits indulgence and in near-ecstatic experience.”

I do not know whether the students were invited or spontaneously joined the dancers. However, the dance performance can in either way not only be treated as a ‘toured object’ or a ‘staged performance’. The perception of the dance as authentic, or as an authentic experience, is therefore not determined by whether or not it is a re-enactment of the traditional Hambukushu dance; i.e. the dances’ ‘originality’. By being turned into a kind of tourist *activity*, the dance performance constituted an alternative form of authenticity – existential authenticity. In other words, during the Cultural Hiking Trail the students were not merely concerned about the authenticity of the ‘toured objects’ – e.g. the Bugakhwe dancer. One can rather say that they were in search for the authenticity of, and between, themselves: “[*now*] I realise what the real life is all about”; “This walk has taught me a lot about myself and the group” (see Appendix VII for more comments from the students). The toured object and activities – the Trail and its cultural elements – thus became the means or the medium by which their existential authentic experience arose.

By focusing on the *subjective* experience of the tourists, Wang’s (1999) existential perspective allows a greater variety of tourist experiences and activities⁶⁸ to be analysed as quests for authenticity, thus enhancing the explanatory power of MacCannell’s model.⁶⁹ Next I am going to discuss how the dominant image of the ‘objective’ authentic Bushman may be countered by the San themselves (or their spokespersons) through ‘conscious’ San tourism ventures. Understood as a product of both social (symbolic) and subjective (perceptual) processes, my argument is that (obvious) inauthentic objects, in its formal definition, can be constructed or defined as authentic by offering the tourists an understanding of *cultural transformation*. In this sense the authenticity of the ‘toured object’ may be perceived as something more and something different than just ‘originality’, modernity’s antithesis or primitive Otherness.

⁶⁸ Wang (1999) refers to phenomena such as visiting friends and family, nature and adventure tourism, beach holiday, etc. as tourism experiences which can be analysed as authenticity quests within the framework of existential authenticity.

⁶⁹ If I had a broader or ‘thicker’ empirical basis, it would have been interesting to try and discover how objective constructive (or symbolic) and existential authenticity are distributed among tourist, and furthermore, if certain tourist categories prefer one kind of authenticity above the other – e.g. if it is typical for ‘low-budget travellers’ like WUSC, to desire, or rather, to satisfy with (just) experiences of ‘existential authenticity’ (see Cohen 1988 and 1989; Silver 1993).

6.2 Cultural Transformation, Innovation and Adaptation

The resilience of any type of adaptation depends on the flexibility and adaptability of its practitioners. This means that any argument for protecting the authentic Basarwa [San] culture is not – and cannot be – an argument of protecting a static, unchanging culture. This is not the issue. The important question is how the San may transform their present conditions into something they themselves perceive as being better. (Saugestad 2001:95)

As discussed (cf. 3.4), the socio-cultural impact of tourism on local host communities has usually been studied from a rather monolithic and static view of what culture is and how tourism can affect it. The prevailing assumption has been that tourism tends to disempower those people who are already rather powerless, by turning their traditional culture into commodities for tourist consumption. In a Botswana context, where the indigenous San have endured centuries of oppression and marginalisation, it therefore seems unlikely that development of tourism around San culture could lead to anything other than further exploitation and marginalisation. However, as recent scholars have begun to focus on indigenous peoples' ability to *transform* their traditional culture within a modern context, the development opportunities in tourism have also become more apparent (e.g. Garland & Gordon 1999; Loftdottir 2001; Meethan 2001; Sisson 2005). Supporting this 'new' focus is a processual culture perception (cf. Barth 1969), where one recognises that the meaning of cultural symbols and practises are always contemporary and changing, though they from the outside may seem unchanged. In this sense, 'modernisation' (and 'development') is more about the reproduction, transformation and adjustment of cultural traditions, than about traditional rupture and cultural erosion.

Opposing a monolithic view on culture, I will argue that tourism, as a modern institution, is not merely about the exploitation, change or destruction of indigenous culture. It can also be about the production of new forms of indigenous traditions, new forms of authenticity, and maybe even a potential strategy for indigenous people to adapt to a changing world.

6.2.1 The authentic Bushman in transition

The most obvious way to explain the attraction that San or Bushmen hold for tourists is to focus on their (ascribed) identity as primitive Others. But in a time where the San to a growing extent also are active participants in tourism, it becomes more problematic to study, but also to market, their authenticity as only primitive Otherness. Garland and Gordon (1999) discuss how San tourism providers in Namibia have begun to urge tourists to practice a kind of '*conscious tourism*' ('meta-tourism'), which in the place of an objective authenticity, market modern-day San as authentic culture in transformation. I will argue that a similar

approach is employed at *Dqāe Qare Game Farm*, which I visited the week after the Cultural Hiking Trail.

Supported by KFO, bought by donor funds and formally owned by the Naro San of D'kar, Dqāe Qare Game Farm was established as a community tourism development project,⁷⁰ which tries to help and encourage the Naro to convert their indigenous knowledge and skills into commercial tourist activities. Aiming at running the Farm according to upmarket standard, the main challenge has been to combine community development with commercial business arrangements. However, unwilling to compromise potential empowerment (cf. 'ownership' and 'participation') for economic profits, the project has thus had to deal with various constraints; from frequent change in management, staff that lack the required capacities, to the inevitable demands of the tourism market. Recognising these challenges, I also observed how the Farm manager tried to approach the rather polar project objective – 'development' *and* 'business' – by emphasising and 'profiting' from the *dual* reality of the Naro San.

Together with WUSC, who were also visiting the Farm – I got the chance to pilot Dqāe Qare's main attraction – *'the Bushman Experience'*. This was a three day bush adventure together with the Naro San; building traditional grass huts, gathering wild food, learning how to identify medicine-plants, how to make fire, rope and eggshell jewellery. In the evening there were traditional music, dancing and story telling. Some of the Naro wore traditional clothes and jewellery, however, nicely combined with Nike shoes and jeans. I asked the Game Farm manager, a 'non-San', if tourists ever commented that the Naro were combining modern and traditional clothes. He said: *"I tell the tourists visiting the Farm that the Bushmen are neither living in the past, nor have they turned to a modern lifestyle. Rather, they are somewhere in-between – in transition. I would never tell them what to wear, pushing them into what I or tourists think is their culture. Rather, they have to decide how they want to present themselves."* He went on by saying that he wanted the tourists to understand that this transition is not merely a change from the traditional to the modern: *What the 'Bushman Experience' teaches tourists are not merely past traditions; the Bushmen still gather food, dance healing dances, and use traditional medicine. Showing or teaching it to tourists as well, they are simply trying to find their place in the modern world (...). But it is not only the Bushmen who are in transition. The tourists, you and me; we are all in transition; constantly*

⁷⁰ The project falls under the CBNRM programme, but like the Cultural Hiking Trail, it is not operated as a joint venture.

adapting and changing, trying to find our place. The tourists who come here need to understand this, and to appreciate the modern Bushmen.”

As ‘tourism producers’, choosing to benefit from transforming parts of their indigenous culture into commercial assets, the Naro San cannot by tourists, nor by social scientists, only be valued and understood as ‘primitive Others’. They are instead in a continual process of transformation, where their dual reality makes them to be *both* ‘Primitive Others’ *and* ‘Modern Subjects’.⁷¹ But how does this duality affect the tourists’ recognition of the Naro’s authentic Otherness? Rather than trying to conceal it by ‘staging’ the Naro San the Dq̄e Qare manager did instead thematise the complicated dual reality of the San; emphasising how they not only are different from the tourists, but also similar – i.e. they are both in transformation, though at different stages. In this way the Naro San’s authenticity lies in the tourists’ consciousness and understanding that everything changes; even the authentic Bushman. In other words, the tourists are offered ‘transformed’ authenticity on a perceptual level – a meta-level – and as such the quest for authenticity is reaffirmed as a viable business. Garland and Gordon writes:

While they [the tourists] may regret that the bushmen they see are not as fully Others as they had anticipated, their interpretations of this regret as an inevitable component of modern-day bushmen tourism enables them to reclaim their own disappointment as an authentic part of their overall quest for bushman otherness (...) As the cultural products consumed by tourist change...the tourists’ quest to consume them continually shifts and redefine itself, perpetually struggling to find ways to render itself authentic under circumstances it recognised as even more authentic.” (1999:281)

At the end of the day, what does this mean for the San and their struggle for development and recognition? As I see it, the positive feature with ‘conscious’ San tourism is that it does not attempt to conceal the ways in which the modern world are changing the lives of the San. This permits the San to be modern without having to compromise their indigenous traditions and opposite. This is furthermore a step in the right direction considering that modern adaptation for the San has so far mainly been an either/or choice between primitive Bushman and modern Tswana citizen. In other words, the San are at least given some power to decide how much they want to apply the popular bushman image, and how much they want to assert their modern identities as indigenous tourism producers. I will complete this section by discussing

⁷¹ Garland and Gordon (1999:279) note that at times it even seems that the San’s status as ‘Others’ is the very thing that makes their modern subjectivity possible in the first place – “it is because they appeal as authentic Others, after all, that people called bushmen have something to sell in the modern marketplace”.

the Dance as an example of the San people's innovative approach and modern adaptation, and furthermore, how this has affected the meaning of the 'real' San Dance.

6.2.2 Preserving the Dance *through* or *as* performance?

As a source of ethnic identification, distinction and unity, the dance is perhaps one of most significant cultural institutions for the San. Guenther (in Hermans 1998:283) states that "the authority figure is now the trance dancer, whereas before it was the hunter". The dance records events such as hunting, rite of passage, it depicts different games and related stories, it celebrates togetherness after separation during the dry season, and in the trance dance both the individual and the community are healed (Haram 2005:83). The dance is also a means of entertaining 'outsiders', and as such, it is maybe the best known and most unique example of



Left: The Naro dancing for Korea National Broadcasting at D'Kar.

Right: San group performing at the National Cultural Day 2006, in Shakawe.



San culture. During my stay in Botswana I got to attend several San dance performances: the Khwe dance during the Hiking Trail, the San dance performance at the National Cultural Day⁷² in Shakawe and the Naro performing for a Korean film team visiting D'kar. These performances seemed carefully arranged, presenting elements from trance or healing dance, puberty rites, and hunting. Practiced as 'staged' performances, how is the 'real' dance affected? Is it still practiced; to what extent and in what form?

Like Hermans (1998), my impression is that the question as to how much the traditional San dance is still practiced in everyday life is very much a subject to interpretations. One of my Bugakhwe informants told me: *"People don't dance anymore just because they feel like it. When I was a kid we would be in bed in the middle of the night and hear drumbeats. We then got up and went outside to make a fire for the dancers. Nowadays we only dance when there is money involved; like when a Hambukushu orders a healing dance or as shows for tourists."* Even if the dance is only practised for money – either from

⁷² The National Cultural Day is an annual event arranged by the Department of Culture and Youths to celebrate the country's cultural diversity...(see below). This year the day was celebrated in Shakawe, under the theme "Culture is Your Business".

tourists buying a ‘staged performance’ or from neighbours buying a healing dance – it does not necessarily mean that the Dance has lost or will lose its meaning as a San cultural symbol. Perceived as an element in the San people’s cultural transformation, the ‘staged’ dance may be a factor in the preservation and revitalisation of the ‘real’ dance rather than its dissolution. Furthermore, Doğan (1989:223) points out how locals may present their traditions to tourists in a different context and form, in an effort to maintain their cultural boundaries and minimise the potential negative effects of tourism. One can therefore argue that as ‘staged’ performances, the San dance has in many ways been reconstructed and slightly changed (e.g. combining various dances, there are no real trances happening, etc.) to prevent the ‘real’ dance from being completely commercialised. The ‘staged’ dance can thus be seen as examples of the San people’s innovative approach to survive under changing circumstances. It might even be explained as a continuation of the foraging strategy.⁷³ In this sense, cultural commercialisation – if controlled by indigenous people themselves – does not necessarily have to be seen as a cultural destructor, although it might change cultural markers or add new meaning to old ones (e.g. Cohen 1988, Loftsdottir 2001).

As a marginalised minority, the San are most often *not* in a position where they are able to control and influence how their culture is to be presented and recognised by the outside world. But maybe worse than being (mis)represented as primitive Bushmen through tourism ventures, is perhaps not to be presented or recognised at all. This is, in many ways, the case for the San in Botswana, where the Government do not officially recognise the indigenous San *as such*. Paradoxically, this is the same culture (at least its symbols) which the Government has taken to represent the unified Botswana nation. This will be the focus of the next section.

6.3 Cultural Commercialisation as ‘Piracy’

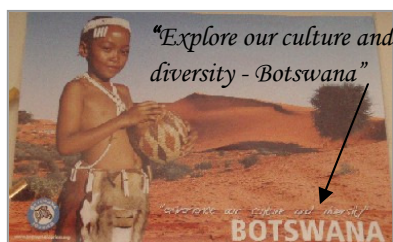
What is important to appreciate is that in the Botswana of today, the most popular cultural element is the traditional dance, which bears an extremely strong resemblance to the dance of the Basarwa [the San], who are the most marginalised and poorest members of society.(...) Is Botswana proud of its Basarwa or not?
(Hermans 1998:283)

With a growing tourism market and technological innovations the desire and ability for transnational, national and local actors to appropriate and profit from indigenous peoples’ material *and* immaterial asset (cf. WIPO 2000 ‘intellectual ownership’), have increased. Largely unprotected by existing intellectual property law, and lacking formal systems and

⁷³ Lee (in Saugestad 2001) emphasises that foragers, more than members of any other kind of society, must fit their social organisation to the niche afforded by nature.

overall representation bodies, the San people are in a much vulnerable position, trying to keep their traditional knowledge (e.g. the Hoodia succulent – ‘Xhoba’) and cultural symbols (e.g. ancestral land or Rock Art) from being stolen or misuses. Harrison (1999) addresses cases of improper appropriation of cultural symbols as ‘*piracy*’: Understood as ‘*inalienable possessions*’ – a term he borrows from Annette Weiner who apply it on objects which are felt to represent or mark the *identity* of the owner – a group’s *cultural symbols* must be protected from unauthorised copying or reproduction (‘piracy’) by those defined as Others. The ability to prevent cultural piracy depends on the group’s power position opposite ‘the Others’ – like, for instance, situations where an ethnic minority has their identity markers unlawfully borrowed or copied by the majority group. I have discussed the way in which travel agents and tour operators may use San culture in commercial business and market operations. Beside the commercial market, governments may also try to appropriate minority culture as a deliberate state policy. Harrison (1999:247) suggests that this type of piracy sometimes occurs when one group (e.g. the state majority) tries to assimilate or subordinate another, but is unable to suppress or eradicate the other group’s identity. The alternative is thus to appropriate the symbolic practices of the other group and then redefine its *own identity* in such a way as to incorporate these practices. The aim of the majority is therefore not to incorporate the symbols of the minority *as* minority symbols. Rather, they want *exclusive rights* to them, and try to erase their meaning as key symbols of minority identity. This may help to explain the Botswana government’s ambiguous interest in the San people’s indigenous heritage.

6.3.1 Indigenous culture as national symbols



Poster and calendar produced by the Department of Tourism (personal photos)



INDIGENOUS HERITAGE

The Western Kalahari has a unique richness in its landscape and history. The *indigenous* San have occupied this area for countless millennia and still live in Ghanzi District, the capital of which is Gantsi, a colourful frontier town. The San, as well as being consummate performing artists, produce beautiful visual arts and crafts. The most famous painters and printmakers are from D’Kar, 30 km north of the town.

The pictures above illustrate the way in which the Botswana Tourism Department presents Botswana as tourist destination. The country's *cultural diversity* seems to be a central theme in both campaigns, and even the term 'indigenous' is applied when referring to the San (left). This way of presenting Botswana stands in great contrast to the national 'non-tribal' policy, which has been intended on, and for a long time been quite successful in, ignoring and undercommunicating the country's cultural diversity. In accordance with this, the Botswana government shows little interest in promoting San culture as such. Nevertheless, images like those above shows the *ambiguity* in the Governments communication about an actual San present (Hermans 1998; Saugestad 2001): On the one hand GoB goes out of its way to emphasise national unity and homogeneity, while on the other hand they may easily borrow visual images of San culture as photographic representation of the country's cultural diversity. I will argue that GoB and the Tswana majority in some cases are not only claiming simple right to some of the San people's practices and traditions, but exclusive rights (cf. Harrison 1999). A working example is the national dance – the traditional Tswana Dance. Hermans (1998:283f) argues that up until about twenty years ago the Tswana dancers usually wore German printed clothing's. Today, however, they wear leather skins and leg rattles, looking and acting suspiciously similar to the San. Although it appears rather clear that the Tswana dance is very much a copy of the San dance, there is little acknowledgment of this fact (ibid.). What has happened is that elements from the San Dance has been copied and then redefined as symbols of the Botswana nation as whole, thus making the San culture simply to be recognised as national culture. By dispossessing the San people of their cultural symbols, the Tswana majority is also dispossessing them of their cultural identity (cf. 'inalienable possessions'). In other words, the majority's act of symbolic piracy is threatening to further marginalise the San by stealing the very thing which enables them to communicate and claim their rights as an indigenous people.

Harrison (1999) also points to how Aboriginal artists in Australia try to have their work protected by copyright⁷⁴ to prevent others from profiting from their cultural creations and innovations. In general, efforts are underway to establish systems and basic mechanisms to protect indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge, skills, art, performances, and the like, from unlawfully appropriation and misuse. A groundbreaking example is the principle of '*prior informed consent*', which is now firmly established in international forums like the Working Group of Indigenous Populations (WGIP). A case in point is 'the WIMSA Media

⁷⁴ In an article asking "Can culture be copyrighted?" Browns (1998) address some of the legal implications of ownership.

and Research contract of the San of Southern Africa’: When visiting KFO’s projects in D’kar a Korean film team doing a documentary on CKGR contacted the Cultural Centre to arrange a San dance performance to film for the documentary. According to the Centre staff, requests like this have lately become more common. However, they also stressed that the clients often pulled out when asked to sign the WIMSA Contract; which states guidelines for economic compensation and ownership of the final product. This time however the contract was signed and the Naro gave a great dance performance for an excited Korean *and* local audience (see picture above).

Cases like this illustrate the potential and value in establishing overall international systems and structures to support minority groups when defending their case in relations with more ‘powerful Others’. But as the case with the Tswana dance above clearly illustrates, the powerful Others are not necessarily only Western actors or the commercial market – e.g. film producers, researchers, medical companies, travel agents and tour operators. The San people also meet and have to relate to the powerful Others in everyday interaction with their Tswana/Bantu neighbours and through governmental structures and institutions (e.g. the school system or the land board). This makes their struggle for development and cultural recognition very complicated. I will end my discussion by returning to the underlying socio-politic Botswana context in which the San have been rendered muted and powerless.

6.4 The Tswana’s National State – A Decisive Context

The encapsulating majority society dominates the construction of meaning of culture to the minority: from tourism, art production, media presentation, welfare regulations, to standards of marketing and bureaucratic control, all shape and channels activities associated with minority cultural distinctiveness in ways that can be profited from and managed by majority institutions. (Thuen 1995:11)

In my effort to get peoples’ opinion regarding the internal tension in Teemacane Trust (cf. 5.2), a young Bugakhwe man pointed out that if I really wanted to understand the San people’s struggle, I should not get too caught up in this issues: *“Even though we are San we also are very different, and like everyone else we have conflicts both between and within the [San] groups.”* I asked him what he perceived as the biggest problem for him and his people. His answer was, *“to be recognised and treated as the lowest (...) being seen as the lowest, it becomes very easy for other to misuse us. Then no-one wants to be a San, and our culture will start disappearing”*. He told me that the Khwe San have had to adapt to the more powerful pastoralist groups in the region, both in terms of livelihood practices and traditions: *“My family used to help our Hambukushu and Wayei neighbours during the ploughing and harvesting season. In return they gave us beer and promised that they would help us on our*

small field plots. Back then we were still allowed to hunt, so instead of paying the workers with beer, my family paid in meat. Since hunting was seasonal, the meat was sometimes given in advance. But when it was season for harvesting and we needed help, our neighbours did not finish the job and sometimes they did not come at all...”. He also told about his experience from growing up at the boarding school hostels: “Considering how bad we were treated by our fellow students, it is not strange that so many San children run away from school. The teachers did not do anything about this misbehaviour, and sometime they were just as bad. People misuse us because they know that we will not do anything about it. And if we go to the police, they will not take us serious. It is just like leadership; there is newer chosen a San leader because the other groups do not take us serious. Even we don’t take ourselves serious...”.

It has been argued by many people that the main problem for the San is that they remain ‘outside’ the Botswana society, with too little power to influence the decision made by majority society and the state. But as Saugestad argues, the social exclusion of, and discrimination against, the San is not explicitly embodied in any official policies or regulations, which, on paper, are very much committed to social justice and equality. Rather, a *social division* between the San minority and the majority Tswana/Bantu people is acted out in daily, face to face interaction in which the Tswana are consistently those who established the parameter for interaction, while the San are those who have to adapt (2001:65). This can be further explained within the framework of Botswana’s nation-building, where the Tswana people were able, in the disguise of a national ideology⁷⁵, to establish a cultural hegemony. As long as the Tswana national identity remains within what Bourdieu calls the doxic field of the undisputed – i.e. a “self-evident and natural order which is taken for granted” (1977:166) – those who do not share the Tswana culture are very much restrained from the opportunity to influence the state of things – i.e. establish a ‘*field of opinion*’; a ‘*counterhegemony*’. Given this, all interaction *and* counteraction must take place within the framework of the dominant mode of expression and code of conduct – the statuses, institutions and structures of the Tswana majority and the Botswana national state.

The San have however not been alone in carrying the legacy of post-colonial nation-building. Other ethnic minorities like the Hambukushu and the Wayei have also felt the oppressive force of the Tswana majority rule. But as M. Taylor (2000) and Haram (2005)

⁷⁵ As noted in the introduction (cf. 1.2.3) Botswana nationalism attempted to create a unitary and unified nation out of the diversified Bechuanaland Protectorate. In this process, ethnicity was linked to ‘tribalism’ and thus the anathema to unified national development (Saugestad 2001).

note, the San have in many ways been exposed to a double oppression, a *double marginalisation*, by also having a *stigma*⁷⁶ attached to their ethnic group: They are ‘people of the past’ or ‘people of the bush’,⁷⁶ identified by what they according to dominant Tswana norm are lacking. For instance, they do *not* own livestock; do *not* have efficient organisation and leadership; do *not* speak Setswana; do *not* live in villages, and not last, they lack concepts of land ownerships ‘due to their nomadic nature’ (Saugestad 2001:106). Furthermore, since symbols which is associated with the past is an important part of the way the San present themselves – e.g. hunting and gathering, trance dance, making fire with sticks, etc. – the majority and the Government sees them as stubbornly trying to bring their primitive tradition into the future, and as such, resisting national development and modernisation (M. Taylor 2000). Here is how a non-San girl I spoke with in Maun, talked about the San: “*The Basarwa refuse to give up their traditional life. That is why they do not want to get an education. Like for instance, if school is close to where the Basarwa stay, they will just leave school and go home. That’s why the Government has to take them to boarding school. The Government tries to develop them, like for instance making a borehole in CKGR, but the Basarwa refuses to use it. They say they want to do it the traditional way*”. Development for, or rather of, the San thus becomes – in the eyes of the Government – an issue of trying to correct the San people’s shortcoming and supply what their culture lack.⁷⁷ In more direct words, this means to assimilate the San to the Tswana majority culture.

The San people’s (development) problem is defined in terms of material poverty – caused by their primitive culture which they persistently tries to preserve – rather than their lack of choice, capability and power – caused by continuous discrimination and exclusion by the Government and majority society. This has together placed the San conceptually in a very different category from the other minority groups; they are on the lowest rung of Botswana society, severely deprived and marginalised.

⁷⁶ Even if this view is not that different from the popular ‘Bushman’ sold through tourism, it carries very different connotations; romantic ‘exotic Others’ versus embarrassing ‘Stone-Age creatures in the age of computers’.

⁷⁷ The Governments argument for relocating the San from the CKGR can be understood within this conceptual framework.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We [the San] have little options for alternative income, apart from selling the things from our culture. Tourism brings other groups to your place and they learn about your culture and it brings money. They will know you, your language and many things about you because you are selling your culture to them. It is good because it makes money and increases understanding of our people (...) if they need to come and see if what the book [Voices of the San] say is true, it cannot be bad. *As long as we control the information.*

(Interviewer N#aisa N//ao, my emphasis)⁷⁸

The overall theme of this thesis has been the relationship between tourism as a modern institution, and indigenous people struggling for a sustainable socio-cultural and economic development – more specifically, if and how indigenous people can create development by means of tourism, without having to compromise their cultural heritage and future as a People. The San people of Botswana have provided the empirical ground from where this relationship has been examined. I have tried to explore the complexity of the relationship by approaching and analysing it at two levels: an empirical level (chapter 5) and a theoretical level (chapter 6).

Through a case study of Teemacane Trust and the Cultural Hiking Trail, I have empirically studied the problems and prospects of Community-Based Tourism as a San Khwe development initiative, however, within the framework of the Botswana CBNRM programme. Much of this thesis has been dedicated to examine and show how ‘development’ is a means by which power and asymmetrical relations can be produced and reproduced. My argument has been that the actors, structures and institutions with power to define ‘development’ (or ‘authenticity’, which I address along similar lines in chapter six), are those who hold power (hegemony) in a society. In relation to San tourism development, I have addressed it as an asymmetrical power relation between the San people and the Botswana government, and secondly – as a consequence – as a possible asymmetrical relation between the San and the Botswana tourism industry. The following summary and line of arguments has brought me to my conclusions: Both the Government of Botswana and the San people want development for the San, and both recognise tourism as a potential means of rural (San) development. Having the same perception of means and ends – i.e. rural development through tourism – their conceptions of what ‘development’ should entail is, however, deviant.

I have argued that the Botswana government’s development agenda, in practice, is about economic growth, capitalism, material well-being and about becoming ‘modern’. This, in many ways, implies adopting a way of life that conforms to that of the Tswana majority (i.e. ‘assimilation’). In other words, ‘development’ for GoB means *economic development* or

⁷⁸ In the *Voices of the San*, Le Roux & White 2004:5

'progress'. In continuation, 'San development' becomes desirable for GoB because the San people's present, as a distinct ethnic group, first of all threatens to disrupt the national homogeneity. And secondly, their indigenous heritage represent an inappropriate continuation of the 'primitive' and the 'backward' in a county that takes pride in its rapid economic development and modernisation. In short, development of the San becomes an issue of assimilation, which is desirable for the image of the developed Botswana nation state.

On the other hand, the San people's development agenda, fronted by their spokespersons and support organisations (e.g. Teemacane and TOCaDI), is defined by their marginal position as an indigenous minority, however, misrecognised as such. I have therefore argued that the San people's need and search for development and cultural recognition cannot be approached and dealt with as if it was only an issue of poor material living standard. Like Moses from Khwai, one of M. Taylor's informants said: "*You cannot put a tie on a buffalo, or give an animal bread, and say that it is development*" (2000:233). It should rather be seen in relation to their 'failure to be able to take full part in society', and thus be approached through an effort to 'restore their basic human capabilities and freedoms'. In other words, the San people and their support organisations want a *sustainable development process* through which the San can be empowered to take back control over their own life and culture. My empirical data has indicated that in the centre of San empowerment are efforts to build confidence in the San's own capacity, culture and resources. In this way cultural preservation, pride and (self-)recognition may arise. Economic growth is of course also very important to improve the life of the San. But from my understanding of Teemacane and TOCaDI's work, it was rather approached and perceived as a positive and natural effect of growing capacity and rising self-esteem. In short, by placing local participation, capacity, ownership and control above pure economic growth, the San and their supporter organisations are fronting an alternative development agenda. Even if it does not conform to the dominant agenda, the San are not endorsing 'anti-development' like GoB perceives it. Rather, they express a deep desire for development, but not through a model that makes them compromise their indigenous identity and culture.

When it comes to tourism based development, I have argued that as an attempt to address rural poverty – which in many cases involves the San – the Botswana government has endorsed Community-Based Tourism as a means with positive prospects. CBNRM is the operational framework for CBT, where local resource management is defined as a way to promote both natural resource conservation and sustainable development. The ideology of CBNRM –'empowerment' and 'local participation' – seems to appeal to local (San)

communities who perceive it as an opportunity to regain control over the natural resources as well as power to manage them according to their own priorities. However, throughout this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate that the way CBNRM has been *implemented* does not match the ideology. My argument has been that Botswana's '*High-value*' tourism policy, which is almost entirely based on economic assumptions, fundamentally contradicts the aim of increasing *local participation* in the tourism sector. The Government's way of managing the contradiction is the 'Joint Venture model', where 'local participation' simply becomes an issue of sub-leasing resource quotas to private operators which are capable of making a lucrative business of the land. So rather than creating sustainable development and empowerment, the JV-model seems to create an environment where local communities become passive, dependent and powerless clients of upmarket tour operators. By promoting this as the most viable way of operating CBNRM, I have argued that the Government, but also the private tourism sector, impose a 'doxic' and hegemonic tourism development model which local communities have to struggle to resist. However, my empirical data from the Cultural Hiking Trail (and Dq̄e Qare Game Farm) has illustrated that the hegemony is never as total as it would claim. Challenging the dominant meanings of 'developed', 'modern' and 'authentic', I have argued that San owned low-end community-based tourism projects shows possibilities of becoming an alternative, and maybe even counterhegemonic, model of tourism development; a model which I perceive to bring better prospects of 'true' sustainable development for the San. I have also argued that 'low-budget' tourists seem to offer better development prospects for San community tourism. Lacking empirical breadth however, it would have been interesting to explore more explicitly the relationship between tourist categories and San tourism development.

To sum up chapter five: given the San people's marginal and 'misrecognised' position within the Botswana society, my argument has been that approaching their need and desire for development through the narrow economic focus of the Joint Venture model of CBNRM, brings little prospect of creating sustainable development through tourism. Rather than providing development opportunities, tourism becomes a development constraint for the San.

In chapter six I brought my analysis of community-based tourism development to a more *theoretical* level. I have found MacCannell's idea of the tourist quest for authenticity – i.e. that tourism is a viable business because 'modern man' searches experiences of authenticity – a useful analytical basis. I have examined and discussed the ambiguity and power inherent in the concept of 'authenticity' in tourism relations, where the 'authentic' often is defined and marketed as if there was an objective standard upon which tourists'

experiences could be determined. More specifically, I have tried to show how the San as both ‘cultural objects’ *and* ‘innovative tourism producers’ may satisfy the tourist quest for authenticity even if they do satisfy the tourism industry’s objective image of the primitive Bushman. Based on my empirical data, I have argued that ‘an authentic tourism experiences’ is not predefined. Rather, authenticity is perceived in different ways by different tourists. It may be anything from a subjective feeling of being in touch with one’s true self (‘existential authenticity’) – like I interpreted the WUSC students Hiking Trail experience – or a cultural object like a ritual, dress or art, constructed to symbolise ‘the authentic’ (constructive authenticity). I have furthermore argued that authenticity in tourism production and relations is a symbolic power construct, defined according to the tourism industry’s ideological desire. Having to operate along such asymmetrical constructions, San tourism producers believe that their modern Otherness will not satisfy the tourist quest. I have, however, shown that through ‘conscious’ San tourism, like Dq̄e Qare, tourists are offered an alternative authentic bushman experience through an understanding of the San people’s transformed, modern reality. In this way, the ‘unprejudiced tourist’ may help the San counteract the dominant (hegemonic) tourism image of the primitive Bushman. I have furthermore argued that processes of cultural commercialisation for tourism purposes, like the ‘staged’ San dance, can be seen as an innovative (‘foraging’) strategy, which the San may employ to survive the changing modern circumstances.

To summarise chapter six, my argument has been that tourism as a modern institution, will not a-priori change or destroy the San people’s indigenous culture. Through empirical examples I have illustrated how it can also be about the production of new forms of authenticity and traditions, and maybe even a means through which the San can present themselves as ‘modern’ and ‘developed’ without having to compromise their indigenous tradition.

In conclusion, the main challenge, and maybe the constraint, with tourism as a means for San development within a Botswana context, is that the dominant development model fails to engage with the capacity, values and desire of the potential beneficiaries – the San. The real beneficiaries seem to be the private (and to some degree, foreign) tourism industry. Rather than promoting sustainable development, tourism involvement may push the San into yet another asymmetrical relation – i.e. with the tourism industry – substituting one form of powerlessness for another. However, I have also tried to explore the opportunities provided by tourism by empirically examining and discussing an alternative approach to tourism development. My main argument is therefore that if tourism is undertaken on the capacity,

skills and knowledge of the San – e.g. low-budget cultural tourism – tourism *can* provide opportunities for sustainable socio-economic development and empowerment for Botswana's indigenous people.

When this is said, I also recognise the challenge with operating and selling low-budget cultural tourism within a tourism market calling for luxurious wildlife tourism. But according to some of the lodge and tour operators which I talked with in Maun, the market for cultural tourism is specialised, but growing: The South African and Namibian Budget tourism market have untapped potential in Botswana, which today is mostly catering for the overseas upmarket. It is, however, an enormous challenge to establish and run community-based tourism businesses in rural communities where the people are very poor, uneducated and have little or no knowledge about cash economy and commercial operations. To turn it into a sustainable project requires flexibility, cultural understanding, and dedicated development workers, support organisations and donors. Additionally, there is a need for time, patience and prudence to adapt to local capacity, aspirations and values. Over-scaling tourism projects above community capacity do not constitute a positive indicator for tourism as a means of sustainable development. Instead, it seems like it is only resulting in the creation of middlemen, dependency, passiveness, local tension and conflicts.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I

TABLES OF MAPS

Map 1 (left): Geographical location of (Botswana within Southern Africa)

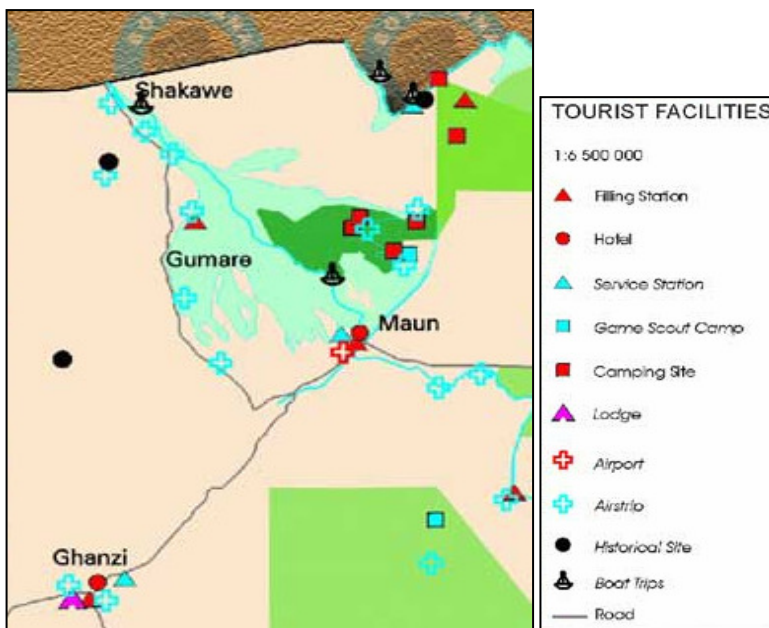


(Source: GoB Official Website 2006: 'Maps')

Map 2 (right): Botswana



(Source: The World Fact Book: 'Botswana')

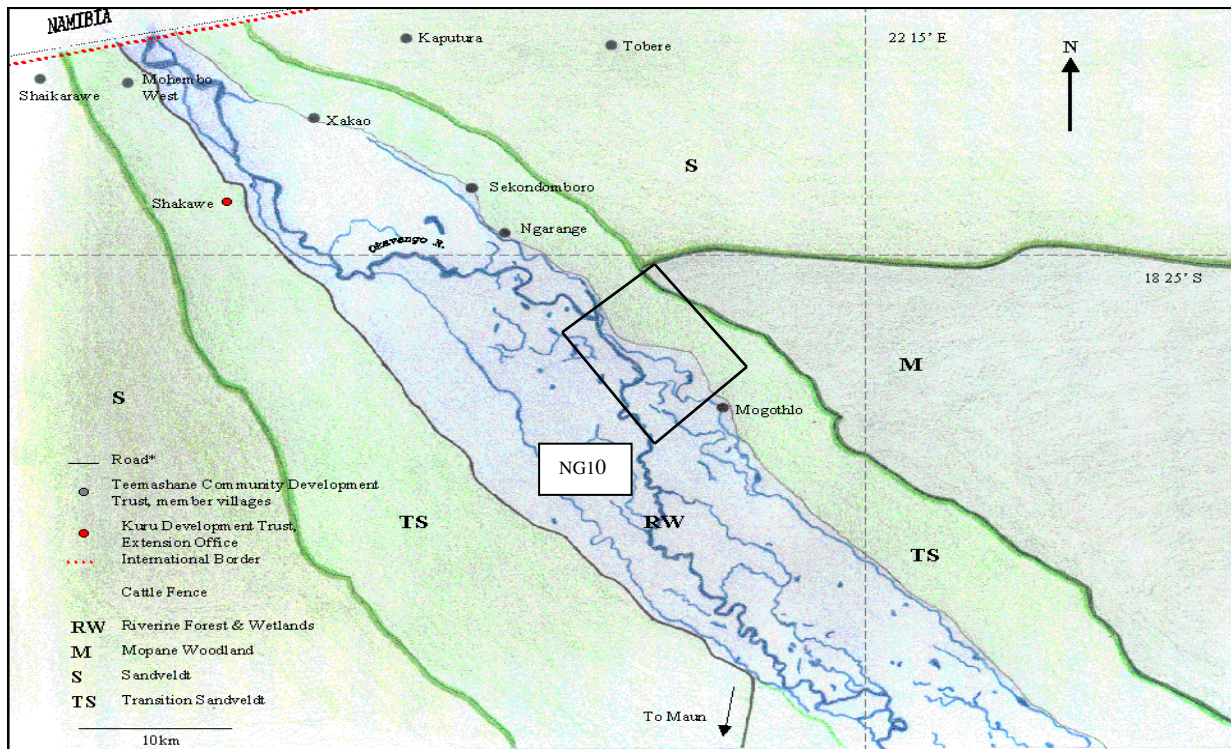


Map 3: The local study area: Ngamiland District, Shakawe, Okavango Delta and Panhandle, and Ghanzi District

(Source: GoB Official Tourism Website 2006: 'Maps')

Map 4:

Map of the northern Okavango Panhandle, showing NG 10 and N/ôâxom Extension Area where Teemacane Community Development Trust operates.



(Source: Letloa CBNRM and land mapping Centre, Shakawe)

**BOTSWANA TOURISM POLICY –
GOVERNMENTAL PAPER NO. 2 OF 1990**

Sections from Botswana's Tourism Policy (1990) illustrating the concept of '*low-volume – high-value*':

The Market

2.2.6 Foreign tourists who spend much of their time but little of their money in Botswana are of little net benefit to the country. Indeed, they are almost certainly a net loss because they crowd the available public facilities such as roads and campsites and cause environmental damages.

2.2.7 One of the major issues that Botswana's tourism policy must address is therefore clear: it is important to shift the mix of tourists away from those who are casual campers towards those who occupy permanent accommodation. Encouraging the latter while discouraging the former through targeted marketing and the imposition of higher fees for the use of public facilities, are obviously among objectives to be pursued.

(GOB 1990:3)

The Industry

2.3.6 The implication of this [– low governmental and public return from tourism] and the previous sub-sections can briefly be stated. There appears to be a large and growing market for Botswana tourism. But, unless the mix of tourists can be substantially changed, with the proportion of tourists occupying relatively permanent accommodation increased and the proportion of tourists who are casual campers reduced, and the public revenues derived from wildlife lands utilised by tourists substantially increased, expansion to exploit that large and growing market would be inadvisable. Assuming, however, that the policies needed to effect these changes can be put in place, and can be supported by an effective promotional campaign aimed largely at high-income countries, the pay-off for Botswana within a few years should be significant.

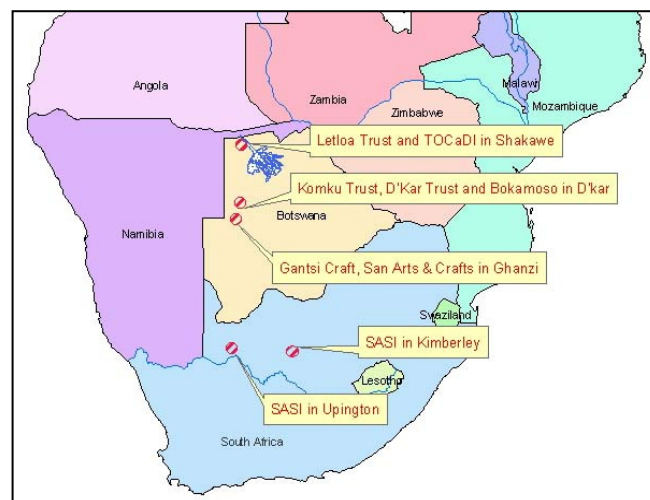
(GOB 1990:3f)

Appendix III

THE EIGHT MEMBERS OF KURU FAMILY OF ORGANISATIONS

Name	Location	Activities
Letloa Trust	Shakawe, Botswana	Centralised support for all KFO offices
Bokamoso Trust	D'kar, Botswana	Early childhood learning
D'kar Trust	D'kar, Botswana	Self help development programmes for D'kar and surrounding settlements
Gantsi Craft	Ghanzi, Botswana	Income generation for rural dwellers of Kalahari and Ghanzi districts through craft production. Community development.
Komku Trust	D'kar, Botswana	Self help development programmes for Ghanzi district
San Arts & Crafts	Ghanzi, Botswana	Centralised wholesaler of crafts sourced by KFO
South African San Institute (SASI)	Kimberley and Upington, South Africa	Self help development programmes for Kimberley area (including Schmidtsdrift) and Southern Kalahari region
TOCaDI	Shakawe, Botswana	Self help development programmes for Ngamiland

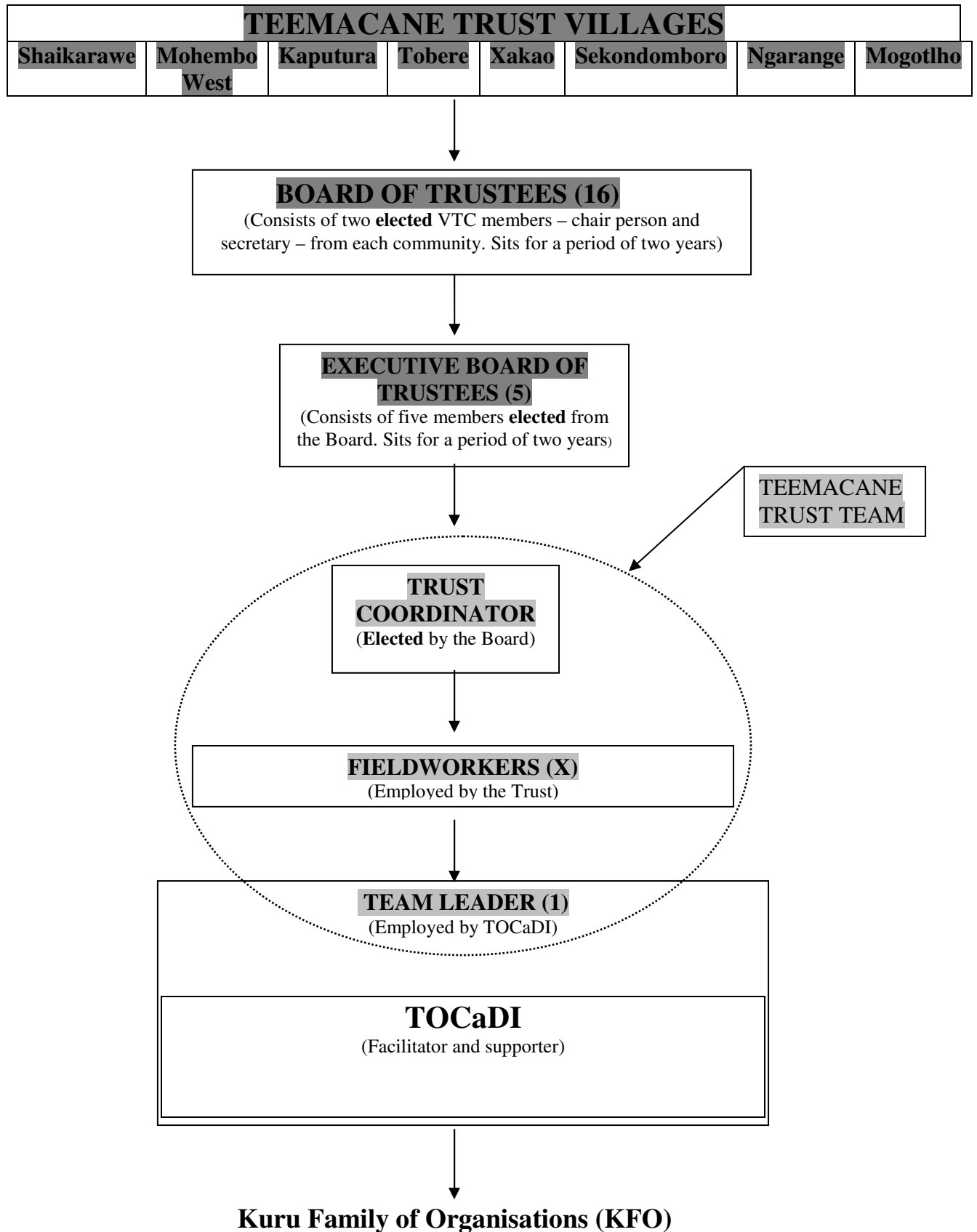
LOCATION OF KFO MEMBERS



(Source: KFO Official Website (2006): “Kuru family”; “Where we work”)

Appendix IV:

FORMAL STRUCTURE OF TEEMACANE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRUST



Appendix V

PRICE LIST TEEMACANE TRUSTS CULTURAL HIKING TRAIL, MAY 16-19, 2006

*KAPUTURA:

Dance group (San) 2x (two different groups) - 300P each-----	600P
Story telling – 100P-----	100P
Game players – 200P-----	200P
Musicians – 120 P-----	120P
Cooking, 3 people 30p each (supper 16.05 + breakfast 17.05)-----	180P
Camp site Kaputura – 200P-----	200P
Guides 4x75 (Mohembo-Kaputura + Kaputura Xakao)-----	300P

*XAKAO:

Cooking for lunch 3x30P-----	90P
Camp site for lunch (17.05)-----	150P
Guides 2x75P (Xakao to Skondomboro)-----	150P

*SKONDOMBORO:

Camp site 150P-----	150P
Cooking, 3 people 30p each (supper 17.05 + breakfast 18.05)-----	180P
Dance group (Hambukushu) – 300P-----	300P
Story telling – 100P-----	100P
Guides 2x75P (Skondomboro to Ngarange)	

*NGARANGE:

Cooking for lunch 3x30P (at Teemacane office)-----	90P
Guides 2x75 (Ngarange to N/ôâxom)-----	150P

*N/ÔÂXOM:

Camp site 150P-----	150P
Cooking, 3 people 30p each (supper 18.05 + breakfast 19.05)-----	180P
Story telling 100P-----	100P

Care hire from TOCaDI-----	400P(+/-)
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(1 Pula – 1,20 Nkr)

The Cultural Hiking Trail

- A walk to remember



Do you want to experience the unique Khwe San, and Hambukushu cultures of the Okavango panhandle?

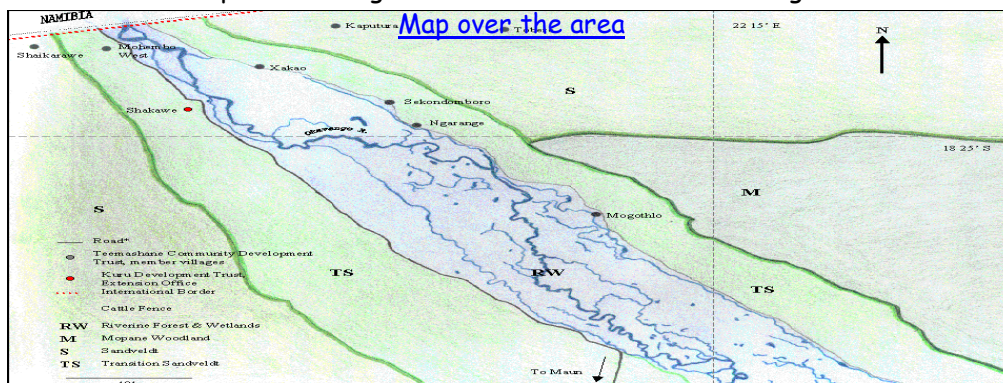
The highly popular guided Cultural Hiking Trail follows a 40-kilometer route between the bush, villages and floodplains of the northern Okavango Panhandle. You will experience traditional dancing, music and storytelling. Over 3 nights you will sleep under the stars at rustic campsites along the way. You will have a once in a lifetime opportunity to experience first hand real Botswana rural village life.

The trail can tailor-arranged for your needs:

- 3 day guided hike, or/and,
- dug-out canoe or fishing trips
- home stays at the village
- shorter bush walks
- traditional craft and culture workshops

The trail directly benefits members of the **Teemacane Community Development Trust**. The Trust has been established to promote the culture and language of the Khwe San, to manage the natural resources sustainable and to improve the livelihoods of rural communities living here.

Contact Dahm Xixae or Splash Moronga at +267 6875084/5 for bookings or further information.



FIELD NOTES (18.05.2006)

SUMMING UP WUSC'S HIKING TRAIL DEBRIEFING

Here is an extract from my field notes on the Cultural Hiking Trail debriefing at N/ôâxom:

The WUSC crew (Canadian) introduced the debriefing:

"This has been three exhausting days, both physically and emotionally. It has not been easy, but you [the students] have handled it well – despite different cultures. You have tested your limits and learned a lot about your self; how far you can push yourself. Some situations have even been scary, and the plans have changed a lot. We have started with plan A and ended up with plan G. We have learned a lot about how people in a completely different world live, think and see the world. My question to you is how have you met this challenge and what have you learned about yourself?"

- Canadian student (C): *"Being here, I know that this is what I want to do in my life"*
- (C): *"This hike has been a huge contrast to last week's classroom lectures at UB. We have had the change to meet and learn about the people outside Gabs [Gaborone], but I have also learned more about myself and the group."*
- (C): *"Meeting and playing with the children in Kaputura was ecstasy! It was a world of emotions, but at the same time it was difficult to eat in front of the children. When we learned that they got our chicken bones, we left extra meet on them"*.
- (C): *I loved the dancing [in Sekondomboro]! – and the guide telling us about the plants and stuff." I am so glad we did this!"*
- UB student (UB): *"Finally I got the change to learn what I only have read about in books; people's life and culture here is so different from the life down south".*
- (UB): *"The people in the village were so happy to show us their culture, by doing so; they really gave us something very special!"*
- Motswana WUSC Crew: *"For me it was interesting to experience how things I take for granted is perceived as something special in other people's eyes – how people form abroad loved the things we take for granted."*
- (C): *"This has been a very positive experience – waking up in the morning, all calm and quiet... But it would have been nice to have spent more time in the villages to learn about the people and how they live."*
- (C): *"I realise what the real life is all about. People here have more contact with each other, they have more time. I am so happy to have had this experience."*
- (C): *"If there is something that needs to be improved it must be better communication and structure – especially in relation to time and distance, so we know what to expect. As foreigners we are used to know what is happening."*
- (C): *"It has also been sad to do the walk, because we know that the locals have to struggle on these roads every day, even just to get to the clinic. At the same time it has been good to actually feel how hard their daily life can be."*
- *I learned that I can push myself very far. And yesterday there was these school children approaching me and they thought me more than I learned the whole semester in political sciences."*
- *"Africa is not what people say back home, it is so much more than animals"*